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FIVE COLLEGE DEPOSITORY

THE HISTORY OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
1966-1972
A CURRICULUM TOOL FOR AFRIKAN AMERICAN STUDIES

A Dissertation Presented
By
KIT KIM HOLDER

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 1990

School of Education

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THE HISTORY OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

1966 - 1972

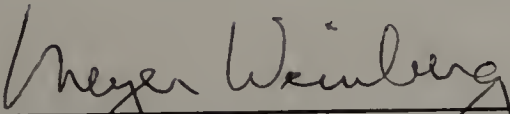
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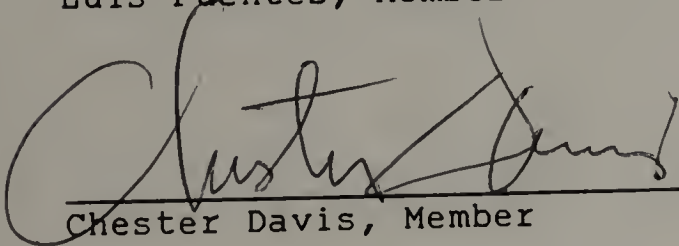
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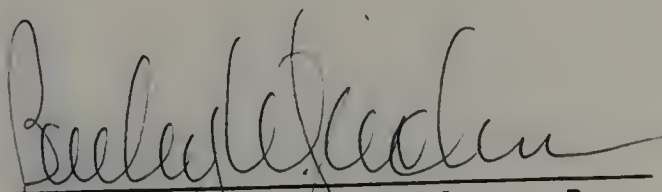
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ABSTRACT

THE HISTORY OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

1966-1971

A CURRICULUM TOOL FOR AFRIKAN AMERICAN STUDIES

MAY 1990

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Directed by: Professor Meyer Weinberg

The Black Panther Party existed for a very short period of time, but within this period it became a central force in the Afrikan American human rights/civil rights movements.

Over the past twenty years the history of the Black Panther Party has been conspicuously missing from material on the 1960's. Particularly, there is an absence of material concerning the rank-and-file grassroots activities.

In documenting the grassroots efforts of the Black Panther Party, this study emphasizes the community organizing of the Party in a manner which encourages the student/reader to analyze the effectiveness and relevance of grassroots organizing as a means of developing social change and achieving Afrikan American self-determination.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ABSTRACT	iv
Chapter	
PART ONE: BACKGROUND	1
1. HISTORICAL CONTEXT	2
Statement of Problem	5
Statement of Purpose	9
Method: Afrikan American Studies Perspective	11
2. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE	16
Central Committee, National/Central Staff,	
Various Ministers	16
Major Public Figures	17
State Regional Chapters	19
Local Branches	20
Rank and File Membership	21
PART TWO: ACTION	27
3. ARMED SELF-DEFENSE	28
Armed Self Defense and Political Violence,	
1966-1968	28
1968-1970	42
Analysis	63
4. SURVIVAL PROGRAMS	75
Conduct of Members	81
Free Breakfast Program	85
Support and Funding	91
Liberation Schools	99
The Food Program	104
Clothing Programs	108
Medical/Health Program	110
5. WORKING COALITIONS	116
Alliances with Latin American Organizations	122
Asian Americans	124
Working Class European Americans	125
The National Front Against Fascism	126

	<u>Page</u>
National Committee to Combat Fascism	128
Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention	129
6. STUDENTS AND THE PARTY	138
7. PRISONERS AND PRISONS	149
Prison Visitor Buses	162
8. INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES	163
Black Panther Party's International Bureau . . .	163
The Black Panther Party and Vietnam	166
B.P.P. 'Troops' to fight in Vietnam	167
9. A DAY IN THE LIFE OF A BLACK PANTHER	171
Tymond Webb	172
Sharon Shukar	173
A Day in the Lives of Two Black Panther Members	175
10. CHRONOLOGY OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY	208
1966	208
1967	210
1968	216
1969	231
1970	238
1971	243
PART THREE: DEMISE	249
11. CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP	250
The Alienation of the New York and Southern California Chapters	250
12. GOVERNMENTAL CAMPAIGN TO DESTROY THE PARTY . . .	278
1966-1967 Local Encounters	278
Physical attacks on Panthers	283
The F.B.I.	285
Politically Motivated Attacks	288
Attacks on Community Programs	291
The Chicago Chapter and the FBI	294
December 8, Raid and the Southern California Chapter	306
Daily Harassment	308
Changing Tactic, Being Driven Underground . . .	309

	<u>Page</u>
13. CONCLUSION	319
Human Rights and Third World Liberation	322
Grassroots Youth Organizing	326
Lack of National Leadership Development	334
14. EPILOGUE	342
15. CURRICULUM	353
Section I	353
Introduction	353
Discussion of Urban Rebellions of 1960's	353
History of Human Rights Activities in Early 1960's	354
Discussion	354
Historical Growth of B.P.P.	355
Early Years 1966-1968 Bay Area	355
National Organization	357
Discussion Based on Readings	358
Section II. Theory and Practice of the B.P.P.	361
Armed Self Defense	361
Discussion Based on Readings	361
Survival Programs	363
Discussion Based on Readings	363
Alliances and Coalitions	365
Discussion Based on Readings	365
Student Organizing	367
Discussion Based on Readings	367
Prison Organizing	368
Governmental Campaign	369
Discussion Based on Readings	369
Party National Leadership	372
APPENDICES	
A. SPLIT	373
B. GOVERNMENTAL CAMPAIGN	392
BIBLIOGRAPHY	417

PART ONE: BACKGROUND

CHAPTER 1

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The mid 1960s marked the beginning of a period in which various groups militantly challenged the legitimacy and authority of important institutions within United States society.

Many angry young Afrikan Americans in cities such as Los Angeles, Newark, and Detroit vented their frustration and rage by attacking the most visible symbols of their oppressive conditions, the European American businessman and the police department. In city after city young Afrikan Americans took to the streets and attacked these symbols of white society domination. Urban rebellions swept across most northern and western urban Afrikan American communities (for details on 1960's urban unrest see: Report of the National Advisory Commission On Civil Disorders, Bantom Books, NY, 1968).

Colleges increased their enrollment of Afro-American and other third world students. They also became centers of demands for community control. On campuses such as San Francisco State, Cornell U., Harvard U., and Jackson State, students were demanding educational programs which were both relevant and beneficial to the third world communities.

During this same period, young prisoners such as Malcolm X, Eldridge Cleaver and George Jackson began to emerge as voices of those incarcerated in America's prison system. Both prisoners and the outside society began to become aware of the injustices and inhuman conditions which existed out of the view of the public. Prisoners began to demand their human rights.

Mexican American, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, and Asian Americans also began to aggressively demand social justice and a change in the conditions in their communities.

Even young European American students were demanding an end to U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia, as well challenging many of the basic principles of their society.

In New York City, Malcolm X had left the Nation of Islam, and was developing the Organization of African American Unity (O.A.A.U.). He advocated that Afrikan Americans focus their struggle to achieve self determination and human rights rather than civil rights and integration. He also advocated the use of arms as a means of protecting the community against racist attacks. By 1964 Malcolm X had emerged as the leading voice of the militant Black nationalist segments within Afrikan American urban communities. Malcolm X, however, was assassinated in 1965 before his organization could begin to implement its programs.

The Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee (S.N.C.C.) was another organization functioning during this period. S.N.C.C. was a militant civil rights group which was formed by southern Afro American students and organized in southern states. Although it was widely known for its work around voter registration, some of S.N.C.C.'s greatest accomplishments were grassroots programs they established in the rural areas of southern states (Raines, 1983). By 1964, S.N.C.C. began to shift its political perspective, replacing integration with self determination as the focus of its efforts. With the emergence of Hubert 'Rap' Brown and Stokley Carmichael as major figures within S.N.C.C., the organization became a leading advocate of 'Black Power'.

As political activities within the Afro American struggle shifted from the South to northern and western urban centers, S.N.C.C. found itself unprepared to assume a leadership role.

In the midst of this period of massive social and political activism by the various disfranchised sectors of this country emerged a militant and aggressive organization which advocated armed self defense and self determination for Afrikan Americans. This group was the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (B.P.P.). The B.P.P. was born on the heels of the decline of the civil rights movement and the assassination of human rights leader Malcolm X.

Attracting unemployed urban youth whom Malcolm X organized, and using many of the tactics and programs of S.N.C.C., as well as the Nation of Islam, the B.P.P. was born in October of 1966. Its major objective was to channel the growing militant rage of the youth into concrete programs which would benefit the community.

The B.P.P. existed from 1966 until 1975. Within this period it generated much support and as much condemnation. It grew from a tiny Oakland, California street group which organized around police brutality into an international organization with comprehensive survival programs which served tens of thousands of meals on a daily basis, nationally, as well as testing hundreds of thousands of people for disease.

In addition to the monumental community programs, the B.P.P. was also targeted for destruction by various government agencies. The campaign against the B.P.P. was led by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (F.B.I.). Under the direction of the director J. Edgar Hoover, but with the silent assent of the president and United States Attorney General, B.P.P. members were harassed, framed, provoked, and even murdered.

Statement of Problem

There is a lack of material on the programs and activities of local B.P.P. chapters other than those in

Oakland. The existing material on the B.P.P. rarely mentions the community work conducted by local chapters. Specifically, there is no thorough documentation of the survival program nor about how individual local chapters decided which programs to implement, the response from the community, and logistical problems.

The B.P.P. was a national organization with an international bureau. Although there was strict Party discipline and adherence to the Party programs, each chapter implemented programs in its distinct manner. In many instances environmental, social, or political conditions forced local chapters to deviate from national Party practices. For example, in New York City and other northern cities where space and housing were major problems, most programs were housed in churches and community centers. In California, where space was not as big a problem, programs were most often located in Panther houses, which also served as offices and living quarters for members.

This lack of information on local community programs has helped maintain a distorted view of the essence of the B.P.P. It was the belief of the B.P.P. that the local programs were the mainstay of the organization. It was the means, as their motto stated, to 'Serve the People'.

The local programs embodied much of the philosophy of the B.P.P. They exemplified the Party's stance as the

organization of the poor. They represented B.P.P.'s stance on Afrikan American community control, as well as illustrating their desire to develop a socialistic society.

It was through these programs that the Afrikan American community had personal contact with the organization and therefore the source of the B.P.P.'s support within the community. This interaction between the Party and the community is essential for a full understanding of the organization's significance and impact on the Afrikan American community as well as the wider society in general.

The activities, feelings, and desires of the rank-and-file members who did the day-to-day grassroots organizing and had the contacts with the community are also conspicuously absent from the bulk of the existing published material on the B.P.P. The activities of national leaders are fairly documented, as are those who were either killed or arrested, but of the great majority of the membership, little is known. Again, the absence of such information does not allow for an in-depth understanding of the motivations and attitudes of the organization's members and leaders.

A detailed look at the rank-and-file membership will aid in understanding the personal connections that the members did or did not have with the community. It would help to publicize the genuine motives and feelings of the

Party. It would supply evidence on whether the Party was motivated by hate and anger as the mass media portrayed or by love and dedication as the Party maintained.

Study of the daily routines and precautions taken by the rank-and-file members might shed light upon the motivations behind some of the violent rhetoric and extreme practices of the B.P.P. A look at the day-to-day encounters of members with local law-enforcement agencies could offer insights as to what it was like to belong to an organization targeted for destruction by the federal government.

The information and insights to be gained by studying the grassroots programs and the everyday activities of the rank and file are considerable. It is an avenue which has yet to be developed and one that should be in order to fully document the history of the B.P.P.

One of the most glaring lacks of existing material on the B.P.P. is the absence of any historical documentation following the demise of the organization. Unlike SNCC, SCLC, CORE, NAACP, and other large organizations active during the sixties and seventies, historians have refrained from conducting research on the B.P.P. There is very little analysis by scholars and historians of the role and effectiveness of the Party. Most works on the period devote one or two paragraphs to describe in extremely general terms the basic facts about the organization.

The lack of historical works on the B.P.P. creates a situation where the only available information is the inconsistent raw material of the period. Reflective, objective analyses of the events surrounding the Party have not been done. Without such analyses the historical significance of the B.P.P. will remain unclear. The mistakes as well as the successes could remain unknown to those in the future who attempt to organize in a similar fashion.

Statement of Purpose

It is my intent to present a document which will assist the reader/student in gaining an in-depth view of the grassroots, rank and file organizing of the Black Panther Party.

This project was developed with the intention of being used in a high school, undergraduate or graduate course on the Afrikan American Liberation/Human Rights movement and the Black Panther Party. Specifically, by documenting the history of the grassroots, rank and file activities of the B.P.P., I hope to help develop within the student/reader a critical awareness of the B.P.P.'s attempts at social and political change.

In order to make the events of the past relevant to the contemporary student/reader, this paper concentrates on demystifying the role and actions of the B.P.P. and its

members. Analysis of the grassroots programs and rank and file members will provide greater insights into how individual members participated in social change. It will allow the student/reader to identify with the historical figures since such characters will be presented as human beings rather than super heroes or super villains.

Former New York Black Panther leader and Afrikan American Studies scholar Kwando Kinshasa has addressed the issue of documenting historical facts by centering on heroes. In a 1987 article Kinshasa states: "While historical 'characters' do act, their actions occur not in a vacuum, but as a response to perceptions of reality" (Kinshasa, 1987). This interpretation of reality does not represent the perspectives of the collective masses. In order to gain a more universal view of the social motivations of a particular period, social and cultural aspects such as dress codes, social etiquette, dietary customs, means of employment must also be examined.

Kinshasa also stresses that these historical sociocultural elements are important indicators of changing conditions and situations within the historical process. They also provide cues to the motivations of historical "characters". Such an approach examines the social cultural motivations of such individuals. In other words, such an analysis collectivizes the individual actions of leaders.

Such collectivization of the Afro-American liberation struggle will help the reader/student identify with the actions of the past. More importantly, such an approach allows the reader to become personally involved with the subject matter. Hopefully this will also facilitate the understanding within the reader/student that they too can be active participants in history.

A study of the rank and file membership and grassroots programs provides the reader with a much more thorough and comprehensive basis upon which to analyze the work and significance of the B.P.P. and to conceptualize their own place in the struggle for human rights.

Method: Afrikan American Studies Perspective

The academic basis of this paper is an Afrikan American Studies perspective. Afrikan American studies is not merely the study of Afrikan Americans through the traditional European American disciplines. Afrikan American studies from its inception as a academic discipline/program in the early 1970's has been motivated and fueled by the political, social, cultural, and economic realities of Afrikan American people.

Black studies should seek to discover and institutionalize a set of responses designed to neutralize and negate those historical forces which have worked to oppress and even extinguish the process of cultural building (Semmes, 1981:6).

In discussing the initial development of Afrikan American studies, Afrikan American studies scholar Ron Karenga states

... Black studies was not simply a academic enterprise, but also a political one ... This dual interrelated thrust to create Black Studies from the Black Liberation movement was ... a political thrust as a academic one (Karenga, 1985:351).

In short, Afrikan American studies seeks to develop an intellectual posture based on the political and cultural realities of Afrikans living in the U.S. It does not claim to be objective or devoid of political "objectives". It is not "objective" since it represents an Afrikan outlook, not one which professes to represent universal truth. It rejects the notion of a political or neutral education. It is precisely political objectives (the cultural, political and economic liberation of Afrikan Americans) which guide the direction of Afrikan American studies. An acknowledgment of the political character in no way signals a willingness to accept demagogic rhetoric or distortions of facts. In fact Afrikan American studies is more truthful and honest by declaring education to be political and cultural. Unlike Eurocentric claims of "academic objectivity", Afrikan American studies is a recognition that the study of any aspect of Afrikan American life is political.

In addition to the political context, the interdisciplinary and multi-disciplinary approach of Afro-American studies makes it one of the only places within the European American academic university in which a study of the rank and file of the Black Panther Party can be conducted. As with Afro-American studies, the tools utilized in this study cross traditional academic disciplines and areas of study.

This paper, for obvious reasons, has much in common with the traditional academic discipline of history, but it also has elements of sociology since it is concerned with the manner in which political and social movements develop. The in-depth study of the rank and file offers much data and analysis within the field of sociology. The documentation and analysis of the government's campaign against the B.P.P. and the Party's reaction also lends much possibilities for political science in general and law in particular.

The interdisciplinary approach of this work is consistent with the principles of Afrikan American studies. Afrikan American historian Harold Cruse describes Afro-American studies: "... as a school of interdisciplinary approaches to the understanding of a living experience" (Cruse, 1971:15).

In order for the reader to gain the fullest understanding of the B.P.P.'s contribution to the human

rights movement, it is necessary to present the material in a variety of ways. This work is primarily a historical documentation which was developed for the purpose of facilitating social action; but it also draws on the field of education, history, sociology, political science, and even fiction.

The historical data presented in this paper were gathered from publications of works by and about the Black Panther Party, governmental records, and mass media accounts of events involving the B.P.P. In addition to these traditional sources of information, I have also conducted formal interviews with over 16 Panthers from California, New York, Boston, Chicago, and Connecticut as well as informally talked with dozens of others.* These members for the most part were rank and file members or local leaders, within the B.P.P. I have used their personal accounts and insights in conjunction with The Black Panther newspaper as the basis for this paper.

The above mentioned sources of data will also be augmented by the personal knowledge of the author, who was a member of the Harlem Branch of the B.P.P., from mid 1969 until February 1971. The fact that I was a participant and observer in many of the events documented does not limit

*Due to financial restraints it was not possible to transcribe the interviews in time for this dissertation, but in the future they will be available. My committee has reviewed them.

the scholarly content of this work. On the contrary, my empirical knowledge of specific information was extremely valuable in identifying central themes within the B.P.P. It has also allowed me more insight as to the authenticity of the information gathered. As valuable as this knowledge has been, however, I have not included data which cannot be substantiated by other sources. For the sake of separating empirical knowledge from scientific investigation, I have declined to include my own personal experiences in this work.

In order to best illustrate the daily activities of the rank and file membership, one chapter consists of a fictional composite of two Panthers engaged in daily organizational work. This particular chapter provides the reader with a personalized view of the work members were engaged in.

There will also be a curriculum chapter which will provide the reader/teacher with a lesson plan outline for each chapter. This outline will include suggestions of topics for discussions, a list of activities, and questions as well as a resource list.

Since the death of Huey P. Newton occurring within three weeks of my interviewing him, I have decided to end this paper with an epilogue entitled 'The death of Huey P. Newton and the significance of the Black Panther Party in 1989.'

CHAPTER 2

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

Center Committee, National/Central Staff, Various Ministers

Prior to April 1968 the Party leadership consisted of cofounders Minister of Defense Huey Newton and Chairman Bobby Seale. These titles had little to do with their role or duties.

The structure of the Black Panther Party was developed as the Party grew. There was not a lot of consistency in much of the ranking or areas of responsibility. The Central Committee was the highest leadership body. It was formed by Bobby Seale in April of 1968.

The Central Committee from 1968 to 1971 consisted of the following persons:

Minister of Defense: 1966 Huey Newton

Supreme Commander: 1970 Huey Newton

Supreme Servant of the People: 1970 Huey Newton

Chairman: 1966 Bobby Seale

Minister of Information: 1967 Eldridge Cleaver

Chief of Staff: 1968 David Hilliard

Minister of Finance: 1968 Bobby Hutton

4/68 Melvin Newton

Minister of Education: 1968 George Murray

1969 Raymond Masai Hewitt

Communication Secretary: 1968 Kathleen Cleaver

Minister of Culture: 1968 Emory Douglass

Field Marshal: 1968 Underground

'69 Donald Cox and George Jackson

others never publicized

National Central Staff:

Assistant Chief of Staff: June Hilliard

Assistant Chairman: John Seale

There were other individuals who functioned as national leaders but had no specific office.

As the highest governing body of the B.P.P., the Central Committee was responsible for developing theory and providing direction to Party members. The Central Committee was to operate in a democratic manner with each member having a vote. This process was hampered by the fact that many of its members were imprisoned or exiled. There is conflicting evidence as to the number of decisions made by the entire membership of the Central Committee. The following is a list of the major leaders who were identified by the public as the B.P.P. national leadership.

Major Public Figures

Huey Newton: Co founder of B.P.P., was the leading force behind the ten point program and platform, and early

Party theory. Initiated armed patrols. Went to jail
October 26, 1967: released August 5, 1970.

Bobby Seale: Co founder; Newton's partner in initial development of Party. Led armed group into California State Capitol building. Served prison sentence July 1967 - December 1967. Upon release assumed leadership of Party. Responsible for setting up Central Committee, starting Free Breakfast Programs, and implementing communal living among membership.

David Hilliard: Became the leading member of the Central Committee. Newton regained the reins of the Party with his release in August 1970; the one major leader who was actively involved in day to day work throughout the period of 1966-1971. As Chief of Staff, his responsibility was the administration of the B.P.P., and as the only key Central Committee leader not in jail, he became the de facto leader of the B.P.P.

Eldridge Cleaver: Joined B.P.P. in 1967. Was head spokesperson and writer. Was responsible for masterminding media campaign to 'Free Huey' and thus developing the Party. Cleaver also wrote Party ideology and theory.

The Black Panther newspaper staff

1. Deputy Minister of Information and Managing editor

a. Raymond Lewis

b. Elbert 'Big Man' Howard 3/69

2. Circulation Manager

Sam Napar

State Regional Chapters

The jurisdiction of a chapter usually extended over a state. New York, Illinois, Massachusetts, Washington all had such chapters. In one state chapter there might be over five different local B.P.P. affiliate facilities. In the New York chapter there were five branches in New York City alone. In addition there were branches or affiliates in Albany, Mt. Vernon, Peekskill, New Rochelle, Garden City, Newburg, to name a few.

Although many chapters were named for their central state of operation, they also coordinated the operations of areas outside their state. Officers from the Illinois chapter exercised leadership over chapters in Omaha, Nebraska; Des Moines, Iowa; and Kansas City, Missouri. Although these three were chapters, they were not considered regional leaders outside their small area. Illinois on the other hand, was a chapter but it also maintained regional control over smaller chapters.

In California where Party activity was widespread, there were Southern and Northern California chapters. Southern California operated similar to the N.Y. and Illinois chapter, exercising authority over its region.

In the case of Southern California this meant Los Angeles, surrounding communities, and San Diego.

In Northern California the structure was not as clear cut. Aside from the various national leaders and coordinators there were officers who were responsible for the local/regional work. But these members rarely had a specific rank. There is evidence of local officers in Northern California such as Randy Williams who was a Defense Captain of the Oakland/San Francisco area.

In most chapters the rank of 'Deputy' preceded the title. For example, Fred Hampton was Deputy Chairman (Illinois), and Geronimo was Deputy Minister of Defense (Southern California). The rank Deputy indicated that it was a regional rather than national rank. This ranking was significant in the sense that chapter deputies did not have a vote in national decisions. Their influence on Party direction depended upon their individual relation with the central committee and national staff.

Local Branches

Branch: These were local B.P.P. groups, usually they consisted of one office, but a branch such as Brooklyn, NY had more than one office.

Defense/area Captain: Entire Branch

Field Lt: Coordinate all 'troops' and activities in community.

Section Leader: Supervises work in section/area

Officer of the Day (O.D.): Supervise/responsibility for all conduct and upkeep of office.

Areas which might have officers attached to them:

- Finance
- Survival Programs
- Information
- Communications
- Security

Information Centers, community centers and N.C.C.F.'s came under control of the regional chapter.

Rank and File Membership

Until mid-1969 an individual desiring to join the B.P.P. went through a six-week training period. During this time the 'Panther in Training' studied and memorized the rules of the B.P.P. as well as the Ten Point Program and Platform. In addition, the trainee was required to perform community work and participate in political education classes. Once the candidate successfully completed the six week program s/he officially became a Panther (Jamal Interview, 1988).

Following the 1969 purge, the Party ranks were closed. Those wanting to join were unable to, but they worked with the B.P.P. People were allowed to function in the capacity of 'community worker'. Community workers did

rank and file work but were not permitted to assume leadership roles. In many locations, community workers were not allowed to live in the communal Panther houses or do sensitive work such as security (Gary Bumpus Interview, 1988).

In locations such as N.Y. community workers functioned almost identically to those of Panthers. They lived in Panther houses, and performed all rank and file tasks, such as security. One of the reasons for the lack of demarcation between community workers and Panthers in N.Y. is the fact that with the arrest of the "New York 21" the New York ranks had seriously depleted (Jamal Joseph, 1988; Thomas McCreary, 1989; Syfia, 1988; Franki Adams, 1988 Interviews).

A community worker could be promoted to a Panther but there was no formal process. In many locals community workers who demonstrated leadership qualities were elevated to Panther status and then given leadership responsibilities and duties. With a lack of formal structure for promoting community workers the process at times was arbitrary. In New York, where local leaders did not hold official chapter ranks, it was the responsibility of California Panthers to promote community workers (Assata, 1987).

In the present work the term Panther will be used to indicate all those who worked directly with the B.P.P., who

followed the leadership and who supported the Party programs.

The following is a list of all Black Panther Party facilities:

Northern California:

National Headquarters
Ministry of Information
Peralta St., Oakland, CA

Perkeley Branch
Shuttuck Ave.

San Francisco Branch
National Distribution
Fillmore St.

Community Centers
2777 Pine St.
135 Kiska Rd.

Oakland Branch
Community Centers
1321 99th Ave
1690 Tenth St.

Richmond Branch (Formed in 1970)
San Quentin State Prison
Tamal, CA

Southern California Chapter:

Los Angeles Branch
2043 Stockwell St.

Community Centers
334 W. 55th St.
2131 113th St.
Toure Community Center Compton, CA

Riverside (CA) People's Community Center
4046 Dwight Ave.

Washington Chapter:

Seattle Chapter
173 20th Ave., Seattle, WA

Portland N.C.C.F.
3619 N.E. Union

Eugene/Oregon Branch
1671 1/2 Perl Street
Eugene, OR (Closed 1969-1970)

Denver Branch
1224 E. 22nd Ave

Illinois Chapter:

Chicago Branch
2350 W. Madison

Rockford, IL Community Center
Peoria, IL

Milwaukee N.C.C.F.
2121 North 1st St.

Indiana Chapter
133 W. 30th St.
Indianapolis, IN

Community Center
414 E. 23rd St.
Indianapolis, IN

Detroit Branch (turned to N.C.C.F. in 1970)
2219 Indian
Detroit, MI

Cleveland N.C.C.F.
4096 E. 139th St.
Cleveland, Ohio

Toledo N.C.C.F.
Toledo, Ohio

Omaha Chapter (turned to N.C.C.F. in 1970)
Omaha, Nebraska

Des Moines, Iowa Chapter (closed in 1970)
1210 University,
Des Moines, Iowa

Kansas City, MO Chapter (closed 1970)
2905 Prospect, K.C., MO

New York Chapter:

Ministry of Information
1370 Boston Road
Bronx, NY

East Coast Distribution/Corona Community Center
Corona, Queens

Harlem Branch
2026 7th Ave.

Washington Height N.C.C.F.

Brooklyn Branch
180 Sutter Ave
Fulton St.

Community Centers
45-B E. 3rd St., Mt. Vernon, NY
101-16 Northern Blvd. Jamaica, NY

White Plains Branch (closed 1969-1970)
159 So. Lexington, White Plains, NY

Peekskill Branch (closed 1969)
22 Nelson Ave.
Peekskill, NY

Staten Island Branch (closed 1969)
232 Jersey St.
Staten Island, NY

Albany Branch (closed 1969)
Albany, NY

Massachusetts Chapter:

Boston Branch
23 Winthrop St.
Roxbury, MA

Cambridge N.C.C.F.
2662 Western Ave
Cambridge, MA

New Bedford N.C.C.F.
New Bedford, MA

Connecticut Chapter:

New Haven Branch
35 Sylcan Ave.
New Haven, CT

Hartford N.C.C.F.
135 Barbour St
Hartford, CT

Bridgeport N.C.C.F.
470 Broad St.
Bridgeport, CT

New Jersey Chapter:

Jersey City Branch
93 Sumit Ave.
Jersey City, N.J.

Atlantic City N.C.C.F.
915 Vergina Pl.
Atlantic City, N.J.

New Brunswick Community Center
7 Church St.
New Brunswick, NJ (closed 1970)

Pennsylvania Chapter:

Philadelphia Branch
2935 W. Columbia
Philadelphia, PA

Maryland Chapter:

Baltimore Branch
1202 N. Gay St
Baltimore, MD

Washington D.C. N.C.C.F.
2327 18th St N.W.
Washington, DC

Delaware N.C.C.F.
239 West St
Dover, Delaware (closed 1970)

Winston Salem N.C.C.F.
1225 E. 18th St
Winston-Salem, NC

New Orleans N.C.C.F.

PART TWO: ACTION

CHAPTER 3

ARMED SELF-DEFENSE

Armed Self Defense and Political Violence, 1966-1968

In the fall of 1966 Huey Newton and Bobby Seale developed the Ten Point Program and Platform which was to be the practical foundation for the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense.

In their survey of the Oakland Afrikan American community Newton and Seale found that police brutality was one of the most blatant and visible problems. Their perspective of community-police relations was supported by a 1968 report by the National Commission on the Cause and Prevention of Violence. In the report it was stated;

... For the black citizen, the policeman has long since ceased to be a neutral symbol of law and order ... blacks perceive the police as hostile, prejudiced, and corrupt ... Many ghetto Blacks see the police as an occupying army ... In view of these facts, the adoption of the idea of self-defense is not surprising" (Foner, 1970:XVII).

In response to the high incidence of police violence, the B.P.P. for Self-Defense devised a program to address point number seven of the Ten Point Program and Platform;

We want an immediate end to police brutality ... We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police

oppression and brutality. The 2nd amendment of the constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self defense.

In order to provide an example of a method of self defense the B.P.P. developed a program in which armed Black Panthers would ride around Oakland acting as watchdogs towards the police. When they encountered police acting in a manner they thought to be illegal they would approach the police and advise the detained persons of their rights. While on patrol members were equipped with firearms (rifles and handguns), law books, and at times a camera. The Panthers were trained to handle their firearms in a legal manner and to interact with the police in legal fashion. This meant to stay the legal distance from the police in the course of their questioning or arresting someone.

In April of 1967, the B.P.P. organized community protest of the police killing of a young A.A. man, Denzil Dowell. Using the killing of Denzil as an example of the need for the community to organize in defense, the B.P.P. began a masses educational campaign. The first issue of The Black Panther newspaper, the official voice of the B.P.P., had a headline concerning the death of Denzil Dowell. The B.P.P. also held street rallies on police brutality and armed self defense.

Shortly after the B.P.P. initiated its patrols these activities began to attract the attention of the Oakland

police department. The police stopped and confronted B.P.P. members. Once the B.P.P. became an object of police activities, the patrols were no longer effective in monitoring police activity towards the community; rather, the Panthers found themselves reacting to police misconduct directed at themselves.

Bobby Seale describes one encounter in the spring of 1967 between Panther members and an Oakland policeman;

One night Huey, Little Bobby (Hutton), and I were patrolling this pig in North Oakland ... It was about 8:30 or 9:30 when we drove down the street and stopped next to the pig. Naturally we were carrying guns ... The shotgun barrel was sticking up. I was holding onto the shotgun while Huey drove. Little Bobby had his M-1 in the back seat between his legs, the barrel of it showing through the window, too.

... As we were turning right, the pig flashed his lights on ... Huey kept moving. He made his left turn and said 'I'm not going to stop till he puts on his siren because a flashing red light really don't mean nothin', anything could be a flashing red light.' Well the pig cut on his siren ... Huey stopped. We had been stopped by pigs a number of times, pigs who'd seen us with guns and didn't know what to do ... This pig surprised us because he stopped his car as soon as we stopped ... He got out of his car and as soon as he did, and came walking from his door, we could hear this pig hollering, 'What the goddam hell you niggers doing with them goddam guns? Who in the goddam hell you niggers think you are? Get out of that goddam car. Get out of that goddam car with then goddam guns.'

I said, 'Huey, this mother's trying to get killed.' Huey said 'You ain't putting nobody under arrest. Who the hell you think you are?'

The pig snatched the door open. When he snatched it open, he said, 'I said get out of

that goddam car and bring them goddam guns out of there.'

Huey said, 'Man, what the hell/'By this time the pig's reaching across Huey real fast. He was grabbing hold of the barrel of the shotgun, and I tightened up on it and pulled it away from him ... Huey grabbed this pig by the collar, pushed his head back up against the roof of the car, then shifted around and got his foot and kicked him in the belly, shoving him all the way out the car. No sooner did brother Huey's feet hit the ground, he was jacking a round off into the chamber, 'Clack upp,' and taking three quick steps.

The pig looked up and looked around, and Huey P. Newton was standing there saying, 'Now, who in the hell do you think you are, you big rednecked bastard, you rotten fascist swine, you bigoted racist? You come into my car, trying to brutalize me and take my property away from me. Go for you gun and you're a dead pig.' The pig folded his hands up. By this time I'd gotten out of the car on the other side, put the .45 in my hand, and pulled the hammer back ... Little Bobby jumped out on the back of our car and jacked a round off in the M-1.

Huey said 'Go for your gun and you're a dead pig. Don't you know by the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution that you can't remove a person's property from them without due process of the Law.' Huey was mad, loud and articulate.

Black people began to come out of their houses, wanting to know what was going on. Huey said, 'Come on out, black people. Come on out and get to know about these racist swine who been controlling our community and occupying our community like a foreign troop ... People got to coming out, I guess seventy or eighty had gathered up there before the other pigs got there. They had about fifteen cars. I think Little Bobby placed his gun right back on the back seat ... he shut the door. Huey and I had been warning Little Bobby about keeping in his possession ... from his father to carry and keep the gun because he was still under

eighteen at the time. He realized that he'd better lay the gun down ...

A pig walks up and says 'Let me see that weapon!'

Huey say, 'Let you see my weapon? You haven't placed me under arrest. Ain't you ever hear of the fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the U.S.? Don't you know you don't remove nobody's property without due process of the law? What is the matter with you? You're supposed to be people enforcing the law, and here you are, ready to violate my constitutional rights. You can't see my gun. You can't have my gun. The only way you're going to get it from me is to try to take it'" (Seale, 1970:93).

After the police checked the serial numbers on the weapons, they gave Newton a ticket for a loose license plate and left.

Although this incident did not involve the B.P.P. patrols monitoring police activity towards the community, it did provide the Party with an opportunity to demonstrate through action how to defend one's rights. At the same time it provided the B.P.P. with another example of police misconduct in which they could mobilize support for their efforts.

Within the first few months of the patrols, local officials in Oakland, CA began to devise ways to block the B.P.P.'s self defense patrols. The police department for their part began stopping known Panther cars on the slightest excuse. The above mentioned incident was only

one in a long string of police/Panther encounters (Seale, 1970) .

During the winter of 1967 the B.P.P. also engaged in other armed political activities. At many of their rallies they often were armed. During February of 1967 they staged their first major publicized armed action. This involved the visit of Betty Shabazz, widow of slain Human Rights leader Malcolm X. The B.P.P. along with other Bay Area Afrikan American groups were sponsoring a celebration in the honor of Malcolm X. The B.P.P. was to provide armed security for Ms. Shabazz as soon as she arrived at the S.F. airport. The presence of armed Panthers at the airport caused much alarm and confusion among airport security. An armed standoff between Panthers and airport police was filmed by news reporters covering Ms. Shabazz's arrival.

That same day, while escorting Ms. Shabazz to the office of Ramparts (a radical, yet fairly established magazine which had hired Eldridge Cleaver as editor), the Panthers had a major confrontation with police. This incident was also witnessed by many people and filmed by newspeople. As in the encounter in Oakland while on patrol, police converged in force upon the armed Panthers. Again, the Panthers dared the police to draw their guns, and again the police backed off (Cleaver, 1969:33) .

As part of the city's attempt to halt the B.P.P. for self defense's use of firearms as a political symbol/tool,

an Oakland State Assemblyman, Don Mulford, introduced a bill in the state legislature to outlaw public display of weapons.

In response to this bill, Minister of Defense Huey Newton wrote the second official document of the B.P.P., Executive Mandate Number 1:

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense calls upon the American people in general, and Black people in particular, to take careful note of the racist California Legislature now considering legislation aimed at keeping Black people disarmed and powerless while racist police agencies throughout the country intensify the terror, brutality, murder, and repression of Black people.

At the same time that the American Government is waging a racist war of genocide in Vietnam the concentration camps in which Japanese-Americans were interned during World War II are being renovated and expanded. Since America has historically reserved its most barbaric treatment for non-white people, we are forced to conclude that these concentration camps are being prepared for Black people who are determined to gain their freedom by any means necessary. The enslavement of Black people at the very founding of this country, the genocide practiced on the American Indians and the confinement of the survivors on reservations, the savage lynching of thousands of Black men and women, the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and now the cowardly massacre in Vietnam all testify to the fact that towards people of color the racist power structure of America has but one policy: repression, genocide, terror, and the big stick.

Black people have begged, prayed, petitioned and demonstrated, among other things, to get the racist power structure of America to right the wrongs which have historically been perpetrated against Black people. All of these efforts have been answered by more repression, deceit, and hypocrisy. As the aggression of the racist American Government escalates in Vietnam, the

police agencies of America escalate the repression of Black people throughout the ghettos of America. Vicious police dogs, cattle prods, and increased patrols have become familiar sights in Black communities. City Hall turns a deaf ear to the pleas of Black people for relief from increasing terror.

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense believes that the time has come for Black people to arm themselves against this terror before it is too late. The pending Mulford Act brings the hour of doom one step nearer. A people who have suffered so much for so long at the hands of a racist society must draw the line somewhere. We believe that the Black Communities of America must rise up as one man to halt the progression of a trend that leads inevitably to their total distraction. Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, Huey P. Newton, May 2, 1967 (Newton, 1972:7).

In keeping with the policy of direct action accompanying political statements, a delegation of 26 armed members went to the California state assembly in Sacramento to demonstrate the Party's disapproval for the bill and illustrate their belief in armed self defense.

The delegation, led by Chairman Bobby Seale, walked into the General assembly armed. Before Seale was able to read Executive Mandate Number One the group was ushered out of the Capitol building. On the steps, with national news coverage, Bobby Seale read the mandate as the other Black Panther Party members stood by with their weapons.

The action in Sacramento provided the B.P.P. with international press exposure. All the major T.V. news networks covered the story of armed Afrikan Americans "invading" the California Capitol building.

The combination of the impending passage of the Mulford Bill and the effectiveness of the Sacramento incident in attracting attention to the B.P.P.'s stance on armed self-defense, resulted in the ending of the patrols during the latter part of the spring of 1967. Because of the national attention from the Sacramento action, and the notoriety they were developing in the San Francisco Bay Area, many young men began joining this local organization. Other local political organizations and individuals such as the B.P.P. of Northern California (a group started by people affiliated with the Philadelphia based Revolutionary Action Movement) and "Soul On Ice" author, Eldridge Cleaver, began to work with the B.P.P.

Following these highly publicized activities the B.P.P. began to incorporate other methods to organize the community around police brutality and armed self-defense. The Black Panther newspaper increasingly was used to express the political ideas of the B.P.P. More political education classes were held among young Panther members, and throughout the Oakland Afrikan American community.

In July 1967 Huey Newton wrote an article titled "The Correct Handling of the Revolution". In this article Newton proclaimed the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense as a vanguard revolutionary organization. He elevated the philosophy of the B.P.P. beyond the simple concept of self-defense by explaining the method whereby the Black

Panther Party intended to lead Afrikan Americans towards revolution.

The Black masses are handling the resistance incorrectly. When the brothers in East Oakland, having learned their resistance fighting from Watts, amassed the people in the streets, threw bricks and Molotov Cocktails to destroy property and create disruption, they were herded into small area by gestapo police and immediately contained by the brutal violence of the oppressor's storm troops. Although this manner of resistance is sporadic, short-lived, and costly, it has been transmitted across the country to all the ghettos of the Black nation.

The identity of the first man who threw a Molotov cocktail is not known by the masses, yet they respect and imitate his action. In the same way, the actions of the party will be imitated by the people if the people respect these activities.

The primary job of the Party is to provide leadership for the people. It must teach by words and action the correct strategic methods of prolonged resistance. When the people learn that it is no longer advantageous for them to resist by going into the streets in large numbers, and when they see the advantage in the activities of the guerrilla warfare methods, they will quickly follow this example.

But first they must respect the Party which is transmitting this message. When the vanguard group destroys the machinery of the oppressor by dealing with him in small groups of threes and four, and then escapes the might of the oppressor, the masses will be impressed and more likely to adhere to this correct strategy. When the masses hear that a gestapo policeman had been executed while sipping coffee at a counter and the revolutionary executioners fled without being traced, the masses will see the validity of this kind of resistance. It is not necessary to organize thirty million Black people in primary groups of two's and three's but it is important for the Party to show the people how to stage a revolution.

There are three ways one can learn: through study, observation, and experience. Since the Black community is composed basically of activists, observation of or participation in activity are the principle ways the community learns. To learn by studying is good, but to learn by experience is better. Because the Black community is not a reading community it is very important that the vanguard group be essentially activist. Without this knowledge of the Black community a Black revolution in racist America is impossible ...

Many would-be revolutionaries work under the fallacious notion that vanguard party should be a secret organization which the power structure knows nothing about, and that the masses know nothing about except for occasional letters that come to their homes by night. Underground parties cannot distribute leaflets announcing an underground meeting. Such contradictions and inconsistencies are not recognized by these so-called revolutionaries. They are, in fact, afraid of the very danger that they are asking the people to confront ...

The complaint of the hypocrites that the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense is exposing the people to deeper suffering is an incorrect observation. By their rebellions in Black communities across the country the people have proved that they will not tolerate any more oppression by the racist police. They are looking now for guidance to extend and strengthen their resistance struggle. The vanguard party must exemplify the characteristics that make them worthy of leadership (Newton, 1972:14).

This article by Newton clarified the earlier actions of the group. It illustrated the long-term objectives of the Black Panther Party. To this point the B.P.P. program and propaganda were primarily concerned with the immediate defense of the Afrikan American community. This article clearly shows the political context in which these earliest actions were initiated.

However, this apparent escalation of objectives did not officially mark a corresponding escalation of tactics on the part of the B.P.P. Rather than organizing and implementing urban guerrilla warfare, the B.P.P. increased its mass political activities. Within a year of the inception of the B.P.P. the groups educational endeavors concerning armed violence were increasingly on a propaganda level.

In speech after speech by major B.P.P. leaders, armed revolution was advocated and the right of self-defense urged.

While the B.P.P. did not officially engage in revolutionary violence (as defined by Huey Newton in, "On the Correct Handling of the Revolution"), the B.P.P. continued to set an example towards the Afrikan American community in respect to armed self defense. Although the Party failed to officially implement a program of guerrilla warfare, with the increase of police confrontations members continued to defend themselves.

It must be pointed out that in 1967 listed in The Black Panther under the organizations leadership, was a position for a Field Marshal. Originally Stokey Carmichael was appointed honorary Field Marshal but soon the newspaper listed the position as underground. In the early part of 1969 Donald Cox was listed as Field Marshal. In 1971 George Jackson was also given the title. The position of

Field Marshal, like most of the titles on the Central Committee, was never officially defined.

Donald Cox (D.C.) did flee the United States in 1969, joining the other B.P.P. members in the International Section, Algiers, Algeria. The circumstances surrounding D.C.'s departure from the U.S. are not very clear. Once in Algiers, D.C. began to print a 'mini manual on urban guerrilla warfare' entitled 'African American Liberation Army'. In this manual D.C. alludes to the fact that he has participated in armed actions against police. In one article he mentions that "I, along with other comrades, began initiating revolutionary activity back in 1967" (Right On newspaper, November 1971:14). This author however has seen no other evidence of guerrilla actions other than the articles written by D.C. There is also no evidence of official sanction of such activities. Yet, the fact that such material was printed in many issues of The Black Panther, and also published in a pamphlet indicates that at one period (1969, 1970 and part of 1971), the articles, if not the actions, were sanctioned by the B.P.P. leadership (The Black Panther, 4/18/70:6, 4/25/70, 5/9/70/:16).

If, in fact, Panthers were involved in urban guerrilla acts in 1967, it was not a major or even recognized activity of the Black Panther Party.

The absence of offensive action by the B.P.P. did not mean that they were passive. On the contrary following the Sacramento action and the discontinuance of patrolling the police, the Party concentrated on speaking engagements and community organizing.

One of the major activities of the B.P.P. from June until late October of 1967, was the political education of the rank and file membership and the organizing of the local community. As Huey Newton stated, "The guns were used to attract the young urban Afrikan Americans, but once they joined the Party, it was the responsibility of the organization to train them in political organizing" (Seale, 1970:83).

Even though the armed patrols were discontinued, the B.P.P. remained the object of local and state governmental attention. As a result of the Sacramento action, Chairman Bobby Seale and a few other Panthers served prison terms of up to eight months. Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver was ordered by the California parole board to limit his public speaking.

On October 26, 1967 Huey Newton was stopped by a police car while driving through Oakland. A shoot-out ensued and one police officer was killed while another was wounded as was Huey Newton. Throughout his three trials Huey maintained that he did not shoot the policeman

and did not even have a weapon. The gun that killed the one officer and wounded the other was never recovered.

The shooting and arrest of Huey Newton was the culmination of yearlong antagonistic and hostile relations between the Oakland police and the B.P.P.

As the B.P.P. mobilized support for Huey Newton the police encounters continued. B.P.P. members were constantly stopped on routine violations. Both Bobby Seale's house in Berkeley and Eldridge Cleaver's in San Francisco were raided by police.

By this time many Panthers did not carry guns while they worked in the community. Eldridge for one was forbidden to posses firearms as a condition of his parole. Less then two years old and not yet a national force, the B.P.P. felt it was under siege by the police and other governmental agencies.

1968-1970

On March 1, 1968 Huey Newton issued Executive Mandate #3. Unlike Executive Mandate #1 and 'On the Correct Handling of the Revolution,' this official statement/position of the B.P.P. dealt not with the political education of the masses, but with the response of Party members to their own specific predicament. In this document Huey states;

... that the situation is critical. Our organization has received serious threats. We draw the line at the threshold of our doors. It is therefore mandated as a general order to all members of the B.P.P. for Self-Defense that all members must acquire the technical equipment to defend their homes ... Any member of the party having such technical equipment who fails to defend his threshold shall be expelled from the Party for Life (Newton, 1972:11).

On April 2, 1968 while making final preparation for a picnic/rally, three carloads of B.P.P. members were stopped by police. The Panthers present have claimed that the police began shooting without provocation, and that only one rifle was in the possession of any Panther. After hiding out in a house for over two hours, Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver, and Minister of Finances 'Little' Bobby Hutton, exited with their hands up. Bobby Hutton was ordered by the police to run to a waiting police car. While running Hutton was shot numerous times by the police.

The death of seventeen year old Bobby Hutton marked the first member of the B.P.P. to be killed by police.

With the two shooting incidents involving Panthers and police, combined with the initial highly publicized armed actions, the B.P.P. had demonstrated significant amount of practice to fuel their educational component. Through their practice the Black Panther Party demonstrated to the Afrikan American community and the nation in general, its willingness to practice what it preached. The

conditions that they faced in terms of being outnumbered and out gunned by the police forced them to confine their activities to reacting rather than initiating.

Initially Party leaders devised programs to demonstrate their official theory. By 1968, however, much of the demonstrations was through its own stance against activities directed towards them by law enforcement agencies. Yet the Party was not completely on the defensive. Nationally, chapters began to form. By 1968 the B.P.P.'s practice concerning armed struggle was focused around Executive Mandate #3. Gone in most locals were the patrols of police and open display on guns. Quickly, the Party used the attacks on its members as a mobilizing tool for self-defense.

Newton's impending murder trial was the first and most publicized case but there were numerous others. Although he maintained his innocence in the October 26, 1967 shooting, this incident along with others was used to illustrate to the Afrikan American community the repressive nature of the governmental system and the 'correct' response to state repression. The Party was skillful and persistent in efforts to turn the attacks against Panthers upon them into educational weapons. Given all of this they were still not in control of the circumstances in which they demonstrated 'the correct handling of the revolution'; the law enforcement agencies were. Nevertheless, Party

membership grew greatly during 1968. The death of Dr. King in April, 1968 and the limitations of the civil rights progress had a lot to do with the Party's growth. The Afrikan American urban youth of the time were fed up with progress in changing the racist laws on the one hand but the lack of improvement of their daily lives on the other.

Police brutality, (the spark for many urban rebellions in the sixties) was a pressing issue within most northern and western cities. In the face of insensitive, repressive, and at times murderous European American police, many young Afrikan Americans grew wary of the nonviolent methods of Dr. King. King's assassination was the final straw for many. They were looking for a more militant approach to their problems. The Black Panther Party provided such militancy with its philosophy of armed self defense and revolution. They proved through action that they were not afraid to practice what they preached. The B.P.P. also tied its struggle to third world revolutions world wide, thus separating Panthers from many gangs and militant Nationalists. The Party advocated a scientific approach to violence, not as revenge (killing whites, etc.). Panthers did not believe in a military victory based upon their personal efforts, rather "The people must rise up and take power ... and the first duties of the Party is to educate the masses to the merits of revolutionary change" (Heath, 1973:165).

From their initial actions the Black Panther Party attempted to place politics in control of the guns. In spite of the emphasis placed on politics by the B.P.P., the rank and file for the most part were recruited from the urban ghettos. Many were quite experienced and skilled in petty crime.

This combination presented many discipline problems within the Party ranks. There have been many accusations of criminal activity by B.P.P. members. But evidence is conflicting as to how much these cases were simply fabrications of the various police agencies (O'Reilly, 1989; Churchill, 1988).

There has been, however, enough evidence indicating that individual rank and file members did in fact participate in petty crime. With the national expansion of the Party, incidents of unauthorized behavior increased to a point that they become an issue in the 1969 purge within the organization conducted by the Central Committee.

Unauthorized criminal behavior by B.P.P. members although not clearly documented, was not the occasion for the majority of violent interactions between Panthers and police. The evidence presented in numerous governmental documents (FBI Cointelpro memos and Congressional testimony, during The Senate Select Committee To Study Governmental Operations with respect to Intelligence Activities [commonly known as the Church Committee for the

chairman, Idaho Senator, Frank Church] 1976), show that the majority of police attacks upon Black Panther members or facilities were not prompted by evidence, or fear of criminal activity, but rather the government's fear of the organization's political activities. In fact, many of the accusations of criminal activity by B.P.P. members were part of the governmental campaign to discredit the B.P.P. (see Chapter 12).

By 1968 a pattern of governmental activity against the B.P.P. began to emerge. In both Berkeley and San Francisco Panthers' homes were raided on false or flimsy suspicions, the California State prison authority placed restrictions on the Minister of Information's ability to speak in public, and Newton was shot and put on trial for murder.

Under attack from various governmental agencies many Party members or affiliates began engaging in different methods of armed self defense (other than patrols and defending home with arms). Increased governmental attacks called forth an increase in Panther action/response. Who actually shot patrolman Hearn and drove Huey to the hospital on October 26, 1967? Did Newton shoot those two policeman and drive himself? (See chapter 10) If this is the case, why did he not claim self-defense at his trial? Or was Newton shot first and then blacked out as he claimed? If this is true then who shot those policeman?

Was it a group of armed combatants as D.C. (on organizing self-defense groups) and Newton (In "On the correct handling of the Revolution") discuss? What about the bombing of the Des Moines police station in 1970, following the bombing of the Des Moines B.P.P. office/house in 1969. The various government agencies claimed that the B.P.P. were responsible for these and other actions (H.C.I.S., 1970:4883), but much the government claimed has since been proven false (O'Reilly, 1989; Church Committee, 1976).

What is clear about the B.P.P.'s practice in armed struggle is that until 1971, when the government attacked, the Party's practice and politics hardened. The Black Panther Party may have been reacting but it did not retreat. Under increased attacks Panthers began striking back and surviving. Unlike the April 6, 1968 incident when Bobby Hutton was killed while surrendering to police, Chicago B.P.P. members Grady Moore and Larry Roberson on July 17, 1969 engaged in a gun battle which resulted in one Panther and two policemen dead and five other policemen wounded (The Black Panther, 2/21/70:centerfold).

After Fred Hampton was killed as he slept, Panther offices across the nation began to resemble armed bunkers (Mark Holder Interview, 1980; Shakur, 1987). Although there was an increase in attacks/raids on Party facilities, no other Panther was killed during these attacks. Within two weeks of the Hampton killing, the Los Angeles chapter

offices were attacked. Although the police came armed with state of the art 'riot/anti-terrorist' equipment the Panthers held them off at three separate locations for up to two hours. No Panther was seriously hurt while a number of police were wounded. The Panthers all surrendered before a huge audience of community and newspeople. In New Orleans and Philadelphia (1970), Panthers engaged in gun battles with raiding governmental agents and surrendered without serious injury. Randy Williams, Defense Captain, Bay Area, wrote;

... Although outnumbered and using inferior weapons, our Party repelled and held at bay the fascist shock troops and sounded the end of Chicago type operations in a fusillade of bullets. We learned valuable lessons paid for with the blood of our revolutionary comrades (The Black Panther, 6/6/70).

With the steady escalation of clashes with the government, many Panthers were forced to elude the authorities. Members such as Eldridge Cleaver 1968, members of the NY 21 1970, and Geronimo Pratt 1970, all chose to go underground or in exile rather than face arrest and imprisonment. An interesting insight into the lack of confidence in the justice system on the part of many Panthers is the fact that in the three above-mentioned cases evidence has been uncovered indicating that the charges were fabricated by the governmental apparatus (see Chapter 12). This indicates that these Panthers did not

flee because of their guilt but rather from lack of confidence in the justice they would receive.

The decision to flee the country or go underground was not consistent with the original practice of the B.P.P. In the aftermath of the Sacramento incident, Seale and other Panthers made a deal with the prosecutor to ensure that those on probation were not violated. Yet, Cleaver was faced with returning to prison to serve out the rest of his term. His decision to flee the U.S. was a big issue within the Party and was ultimately left up to him (Seale, 1970).

In 1970, many of the Los Angeles Panthers involved in the December 9, 1969 clash with police, went underground rather than stand trial (The Black Panther, 2/21/70:15). Many individual Panthers refused to become sitting ducks for the government and went underground. For these members the eventuality which Newton discussed (in 'Correct Handling of the Revolution' about the vanguard party going underground only when it is driven to do so), had become a personal reality.

Many Panthers who were singled out by the governmental campaign against the Party felt they were forced underground (Assata, 1987). In a battle to survive many Panthers attempted to put their activities into a political context while underground, hence they resorted to

guerrilla warfare. Once more Panthers were responding to the governmental actions but not retreating.

The resort to underground action by Panthers (with the possible exception of D.C. in 1967) was the result of and reaction to the massive campaign by the government in general and the targeting of individuals in particular. To go underground was not a planned group political action but rather a defensive maneuver by individual Panthers.

It was not the offensive actions of the Chicago Branch which caused Hampton's death, nor was it the offensive actions of the Bay Area Panthers that led to Bobby Hutton's death. These incidents and others like them created a climate where Panthers felt that their lives were in danger.

Although the B.P.P. never officially and openly endorsed the practice of Panthers going underground to elude governmental agencies, there were articles by individual Panthers which praised these actions. During this period the official policy and practice of the Party was to discourage members from escaping the police, and to stand trial, expose the system to the masses and the masses would free the Panthers who were imprisoned.

On the theoretical front many B.P.P. members began to pay closer attention to revolutionary guerrilla warfare, and increased their interest in and ties with third world revolutionary movements. In 1970 there began to appear an

increased coverage of urban guerilla groups such as the Tupamoros of Uruguay. Articles quoting from the experiences of urban guerrillas such as Carlos Magalla of Brazil were calling for guerrilla actions in the U.S. Defense Captain Randy Williams wrote: "As the attacks against the Party escalate so must the awareness of our people be channelled toward acceptance and even more, active participation in urban guerrilla warfare" (The Black Panther, 6/6/70:5).

Clearly, by 1970 the rhetoric of the B.P.P. as it was represented in The Black Panther newspaper, had become one of advocating armed revolution in general and urban guerrilla warfare as the short term method of struggling.

In July of 1970, Jonathan Jackson, the 17 year old brother of prison leader George Jackson, stormed the Marin County, California courthouse, armed three prisoners and took hostages. In the ensuing shoot-out in the courthouse parking lot Jackson and four others were killed.

Jackson had planned to arm the three prisoners, exchange the hostages for his brother, who was to be brought to the airport, at which time the five would fly out of the country. The interesting aspect of this incident is that Louis Tackwood, a former governmental agent/informer, has claimed that the entire action was planned by police agents and that members of the Black Panther Party were to be involved. He also maintains that

police informant/B.P.P. member Cotton Smith was a key figure in the planning of this action. Tackwood also claimed that Deputy Minister of Defense (S.Cal.), Geronimo Pratt, found out about the Panther involvement and ordered the Panthers to abandon the plan. Tackwood stated that Pratt was unaware of J. Jackson's involvement and therefore did not discuss the matter with him. (Jackson was not a member of the Black Panther Party.) Tackwood has also declared that the entire episode was a government set up to eliminate a number of Panthers, as well as prison leaders, and to discredit the Panther/prison movement in California (Churchill, 1988:85).

As events turned out, George Jackson was not killed and no Panthers were involved in the action. Initially the B.P.P. seized the event, holding a massive Panther funeral for J. Jackson. Jackson was held up as an example of the fighting spirit of Afrikan American youth. The sweeping governmental firepower unleashed on the group led by J. Jackson, and the killing by the government of the hostage judge, gave fuel to the B.P.P.'s stand that the government was vicious and brutal (The Black Panther, 8/15/70:2).

During the week of the Marin County event, Huey Newton was released on bail pending a retrial. One of his first official acts was to deliver the eulogy at Jonathan's funeral. He stated,

Our comrades Jonathan Jackson and William A. Christmas have taught us a revolutionary lesson. They have intensified the struggle and placed it on a higher level ... A picture is worth a thousand words but action is supreme ... The Black Panther Party will follow the example that was set forth by these courageous revolutionaries (The Black Panther, 8/21/70).

The B.P.P. seized the opportunity to expose the violent nature of the government apparatus and also praised the energy and heart of these fallen heroes. The picture of young Jonathan with carbine in one hand and a shotgun trained on the judge became a regular in The Black Panther for the next six months or so.

Within the Party itself the failed actions of this young non Panther was another reminder of alternative methods of resisting the government. This action also called into question the 'vanguard' status of the B.P.P. as to armed political actions within the United States.

Lumumba Shakur, imprisoned B.P.P./N.Y. leader and member of the New York 21, wrote an article challenging B.P.P. members to practice what they preached. In ending his article Shakur wrote: "To show you what is meant by armed propaganda -- Fidel Castro said 'At the right time, one military move is more educational to the people than one thousand rallies" (The Black Panther, 5/9/70:7).

San Quentin prison leader and B.P.P. Field Marshal George Jackson (1971) also began to write articles calling

for an increase in organized underground armed actions. In one article entitled 'On Withdrawal,' Jackson wrote:

The Revolutionary is outlawed. The Black revolutionary is a doomed man ... From the beginning of his revolutionary consciousness he must use every device to stay alive. Violence is a forced issue. It's incumbent on him. The very first political programs have had to be defended with duels to the death. The Children's Breakfast programs haven't been spared (The Black Panther, 4/10/71:12).

While in jail as a result of the December 8, 1970 Los Angeles shoot-out and before he went underground Geronimo Pratt wrote an article entitled 'National Salvation,' in which he stated; "Based on our history there should be no doubt on anyone's mind about the necessity of defending their lives against vile and inhuman elements." Pratt goes on to state, "... we must understand the rudiments of survival -- defense and the combination of offence for the purpose of defense" (The Black Panther, 1/31/70:4).

During this period of heightened discussion of armed struggle, B.P.P. members were discouraged from engaging in such activities by certain elements within the national leadership. Although actions by non Panthers were heralded as acts of revolutionary violence (The Black Panther, 12/31/70:1), many Party members were expelled or purged for participating in unauthorized actions.

Since the earlier purge of 1969, the Party had an official policy of expelling members who engaged in unauthorized armed actions. One case was that of three

New York Panthers who were lured into a robbery conspiracy by a police agent and were arrested while enroute to allegedly commit the crime. National headquarters of the B.P.P. expelled these members for lack of discipline and violation of Party policy (Chevigny, 1972). One of the problems that this policy created was that as in the case of the three NY Panthers, when a member was expelled from the Party he/she was left to face the government with little or no organizational and community support. Another problem with this policy was how it would apply to those members who had gone underground as a result of government attacks. These people such as Geronimo and the others from L.A. were still Party members in good standing when they initially went underground. How could these members survive and what type of revolutionary work were they to be involved in? There were some instances when Party members who were wanted by government officials in one region of the country were simply transferred to another Panther chapter in another region of the country.

This practice, however, was only effective for those members wanted on minor charges and for whom the government was not utilizing its entire intelligence and communication apparatus. The shortcomings of such B.P.P. practice were numerous. The B.P.P. was an above ground, highly visible organization with massive governmental infiltration which made it very difficult, if not impossible, for members to

go undetected by the government. Another aspect was the fact that within the context of performing the daily duties of a B.P.P. member, one had a great chance of being stopped, questioned, and even arrested by local police. The possibility of arrest was a daily reality for B.P.P. members, regardless of their activities.

The contradictions within the Party surrounding direction of the armed struggle took a dramatic turn during the winter of 1970-1971, when Geronimo Pratt and three other underground members of the L.A. branch were expelled. In the article announcing the expulsions Huey Newton wrote:

For the Black Panther Party did everything in our power to allow this man ... to remain free from the vicious clutches of the pigs. As a result of our efforts this jacknape informed the Central Committee of our Party of certain demands he had -- namely money. He advised the Party that he had organized some other fools, that were armed and that if his demands were not met he would 'move on' ... members of the central committee.

In this article Newton also indirectly criticized Pratt's decision to go underground when he wrote, "... after he (Pratt) left his obvious Party tasks to avoid capture by the pigs." Newton also attacked Pratt's attempts to develop an underground apparatus when he stated;

Geronimo and the others who are hereby purged -- Will Stafford, Wilfred 'Crunch' Holiday, and George Lloyd -- attempted to organize other renegades from our party and themselves into counterrevolutionary, little rebel roving bands, certainly not adhering to the Party's principles or orders.

Finally, while expelling these members Newton declared: "Any Party member or community worker who attempts to aid them or communicate with them in any form or manner shall be considered part of their conspiracy to undermine and destroy the Black Panther Party" (The Black Panther, 1/23/71:7).

The expulsion of Pratt and his comrades was followed by the expulsion of all the members of the N.Y. 21 who were still in jail. This expulsion which took place January of 1971 was precipitated by the above-mentioned B.P.P. members sending an open letter to the Weather Underground (formerly Students for a Democratic Society/S.D.S.) printed in the Guardian newspaper. The letter claimed that the B.P.P. had not elevated the methods of struggle and was no longer setting the most advanced example of struggle. The letter went on to claim that because of their practice in engaging in armed propaganda (mainly bombings of governmental buildings), the predominantly European American underground group was the vanguard of the progressive movement within the U.S. The letter was more of a criticism of the lack of action by the B.P.P. than an endorsement of the Weather Underground.

During the seven months following Newton's release from jail in August 1970 a number of members within branches nationally expressed their discontent. The unrest within the Party had caused many respected and experienced

members to disassociate themselves from the organization or they were expelled. The question of armed struggle was but one of the issues in conflict.

In Los Angeles, where Pratt had organized, educated, and demonstrated leadership in preparing the branch to defend itself against government raids, many rank-and-file members refused to accept the official position of the Party. In New York many B.P.P. members became extremely upset and confused by the expulsion (Joseph 1988; Holder, 1989; Adams, 1988; interviews). In San Quentin Prison Defence Capt. from the East Bay Area, Randy Williams was expelled.

The discontent within the party came to a head in February of 1971, when Dhoruba Moore and Michael Tabor, NY 21 members, along with European support coordinator and Secretary to Huey Newton, Connie Mathews, were expelled from the Party. The reasons for their expulsion were not spelled out in the February 13, 1971 front page article.

Following these latest expulsions, the entire International Bureau including the three Central Committee members were also expelled for questioning the direction of the Party and the practice of particular leaders (Right On, 4/13/71). While actions against the International bureau were proceeding, the New York chapter of the B.P.P. also was expelled for taking a similar position (Right On, 4/3/71).

Panthers who were expelled/split from the Oakland group continued to call themselves Black Panther Party members, with a coordinating committee and central headquarter located in Harlem, N.Y.

Although armed struggle was not the sole issue in this division within the B.P.P., it was a major one. The majority of those who advocated that the B.P.P. assume a more active role in the development of armed struggle succeeded from the B.P.P., headquartered in Oakland, CA. (For more details of the split, see chapter 11)

The antagonism and open hostility between the two factions resulted in the death of two leading B.P.P. members. On March 8, 1971 Deputy Field Marshal Robert Webb was shot and killed on a Harlem street by five members of the Oakland faction (Holder interview, 1989).

On April 17, 1971, Circulation Manager for The Black Panther (Oakland faction issued paper), was found shot to death in a Oakland faction facility in Queens, New York. Five New York based Panthers later stood trial for this murder. Although only one was convicted, it is widely believed that the murder was committed by New Yorkers (The Black Panther 5/1/71:9).

Following the split within the B.P.P., the original Oakland (B.P.P.) group, led by Huey Newton and Chief of Staff David Hillard, issued numerous statements denouncing

the "ultra military" direction that the Party had taken over the past two years or so.

In an address to major A.A. religious community leaders of the East Bay Area of California Newton stated that the B.P.P. had in fact defected from the Black community and had alienated itself from the masses of people. Newton went on to place most of the blame for past Party behavior and direction on the then Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver. It was Newton's contention that Cleaver was not interested in grassroots community organizing but rather in the adventurous romance of using arms. Newton went on to say that he personally was against much of the past direction of the organization but that he was out-voted by other members of the Central Committee (The Black Panther, 5/25/71:14).

The Oakland Faction of the B.P.P. began to adopt other methods of combating governmental repression. Chairman Bobby Seale wrote an article stating:

We can literally vote out the existing police departments ... Then I was asked, I thought you believed in guerrilla warfare. But I said under the circumstances when the people, the masses, believe and see that guerilla warfare is just ... (The Black Panther, 4/6/71).

Following the events of February 1971, the New York faction of the B.P.P. began to embrace many former Panthers who were expelled for engaging in politically motivated armed actions. The three Brooklyn Panthers arrested and

expelled for their alleged involvement in a robbery conspiracy began to receive B.P.P. support (Right On, 1971). Ruchal Magee, the surviving member of the Jonathan Jackson/Marin County incident, was also receiving assistance from the 'New York' faction of the B.P.P.

With the factionalization of the B.P.P., the political and military resources of the organization were split into two camps. Although both factions claimed to still adhere to the Party line of "War is politics with bloodshed and politics is war without bloodshed" they began to overemphasize either the mass organizational or military aspect of the struggle (Suyfia Interview, 1988).

Within the 'New York' faction many members began to function on an underground level. A number implemented armed propaganda activities which coincided with the mass work of the Party. An example of such activities was the campaign against drugs in the New York community. The B.P.P. ('New York' faction), were involved with working with drug addicts. On a underground level groups of five and six began a campaign of attacking drug pushers and known drug hangouts.

Another target of these underground groups were the police. Over the next two years there were numerous attacks on police officers in New York alone (Right On, Jan. 1972).

During the period of 1971-1974, the armed propaganda activities of the underground attracted many members of the 'New York' faction. With the escalation of armed activities the mass organizational and educational work suffered. Over this period the 'New York' B.P.P. slowly faded away. The armed underground began to take the form of what was to become the Black Liberation Army.

Analysis

The philosophy of the B.P.P. had always included armed struggle as an integral aspect of the struggle for Liberation. As Huey Newton stated; "There is a big difference between thirty million unarmed Black people and thirty million Black people armed to the teeth")The Black Panther, 8/21/70). The first political material used to educate the membership was Quotations from Chairman Mao (Seale, 1970). The statement "Political Power grows out of the barrel of the gun," was widely used by Party members. The concept of weapons as a political tool was one of the major contributions of the B.P.P. It was the single most important factor in the notoriety which the Party enjoyed in its first two years.

Despite the heavy emphasis upon armed actions, the B.P.P. never formally sanctioned illegal actions by its members. The Party's central position on armed actions was that members had a right to defend themselves by any means

necessary. This position on members' conduct was somewhat in contrast with the public statements and rhetoric of many Panthers. Newton stated at J. Jackson's funeral; "There are no laws that the oppressor makes that the oppressed are bound to respect..." Yet one year later Newton wrote; "We always fall within the law that the people respect, even though we feel that sometimes the law needs to be changed altogether. So we armed ourselves, as the Constitution gives a right to" (The Black Panther, 8/1970). Party spokespeople at one point or another called for the incorporation of armed struggle within the struggle for liberation. These public statements, however, were not followed up by official Party programs. The practice of the Black Panther Party was not consistent with its political stand on armed struggle. In 1968 the Party dropped 'for self-defense' from their name to reflect the fact that the organization was not purely a self-defense group but rather "the armed body to carry out the political task of the revolution." Although its name was changed and its political scope broadened, the Party did not expand its program of armed actions.

Huey Newton had claimed that it was not the original intention of the Party to engage in armed struggle but rather to serve the needs of the people (The Black Panther, 8/2/71:A). Newton's version of the original intent/direction of the B.P.P. is not consistent with the

writings of others as well as even himself during the first two years.

One of the possible factors which contributed to the inconsistency of Party theory and practice was the constant attacks by the government. From the very first patrols of police, the B.P.P. was under attack. The Oakland patrols were not effective in monitoring police treatment of the Afrikan American community because in most instances the presence of armed Panthers became the issue and not police treatment towards the community. Police/governmental brutality was illustrated by their treatment of the B.P.P. itself. Following 1967, the manner in which the Party educated the masses by example concerning the correct handling of the struggle was through their reaction to the massive governmental campaign against them. The Party did not plan their defensive stance to the numerous police raids, as they had done with the patrols. The Party reacted and adapted to the methods and actions of the government agencies. It was these responses which brought the Party its most notoriety and support. It was through their stubborn resistance to the onslaught of the state repression that they educated by example.

Regardless of their stated intent, after 1967 the Party's biggest contributions remained within the area of strict self defense. Personal self defense of B.P.P. members was utilized as the major example of revolutionary

violence. The Party did not develop theories on the use of revolutionary violence as much as introduce them to the North American reality. This introduction took basically two forms; on the practical level the use of armed self-defense within the context of the A.A. human rights struggle, and in the theoretical arena they called for and praised offensive/defensive actions.

The concept of offensive defensive actions was not used by the Black liberation movement since the Nat Turner-led rebellion of 1831. In 1968, soon after the assassination of Dr. King, Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver wrote:

So we are now engaged openly in a war for the national liberation of Afro-America from colonial bondage to the white mother country. In our epoch, guerrilla warfare is the vehicle for national liberation all around the world. That it would soon come to America could have been predicted ... Nat Turner, Gabriel Prosser and Denmark Vesey, black men who led the most successful slave rebellions in North America, are the spiritual fathers of today's titans ... Who heralded the coming of the gun ... And the resort to armed struggle (Cleaver, 1969:70).

It was statements like this by Cleaver which contributed the majority of the B.P.P.'s involvement in armed struggle. The Party did not educate by example, when it came to the "the correct handling of the revolution", rather it raised the stakes and introduced to the movement the possibility of organized political violence. The Party attempted to lay the political and organizational

foundation for people's war. Huey Newton conveyed this objective in 1968 when he wrote, "The Vanguard party must provide leadership for the people. It must teach the correct strategic methods of prolonged resistance through literature and activities." Newton goes on to integrate political and military goals; "it is of prime importance that the Vanguard party develop a political organ, such as a newspaper. As well as employ strategically revolutionary art and distraction of the oppressors machinery" (The Correct Handling of the Rev., Foner/The Black Panther, 5/18/68).

The Party concentrated its efforts on the propaganda and educational aspect of mobilizing people around armed revolution. On an ideological level this did not present much problems since the Party made little distinction between political and military activities. The Party did not consider a moral issue to be involved in the use of arms since they viewed it as an extension of political work.

Politics is war without bloodshed. War is politics with bloodshed. Politics has its particular characteristics which differentiate it from war. When peaceful means of politics are exhausted and the people do not get what they want, politics are continued. Usually it ends up in physical conflict which is called war, which is also political. (Newton Functional Definition of Politics, The Black Panther, 1/17/69).

With this as their basic prospective of things, the B.P.P. actively advocated armed struggle. Panthers had

become identified by those they claimed to represent, as well as with their enemies as the leading advocate of revolutionary armed struggle in the U.S.

The image and standing of the B.P.P. as an 'armed' organization with the purpose of carrying out the political task of the revolution was enhanced by their numerous clashes with the government apparatus. For a period (1966-1969) the Party was able to maintain their fighting image by its response to government attacks.

The Party not only advocated armed struggle but defended the 'right' to do so, (at times, to the death). The B.P.P. did not come under governmental attack for guerrilla activity but rather for its educational and propaganda work around armed struggle.

Of the various firefights between the B.P.P. and the government, the vast majority were instigated by the government on political rather than criminal charges. Fred Hampton and Bobby Hutton, two of the most notable Panthers killed by government agents, were killed because they were members of the B.P.P. The New York 21 were not imprisoned for over two years for armed acts. As a matter of fact they were charged with a long list of armed actions all of which they were eventually acquitted of (O'Reilly, 1989). The B.P.P. also demonstrated a fighting spirit not by engaging in offensive-defensive actions, but rather by defending themselves.

Through the process of defending themselves and continuing to advocate armed revolution many members within the Party began to consider participating in - and some claimed even to have engaged in - urban guerrilla warfare. This phenomenon developed due to a combination of reasons. First and foremost was the unrelenting and widespread campaign of destruction waged against them. The factor of the government's campaign should not be underestimated. Although it was not the only factor in leading members towards armed struggle it was by far the major one. It was the government's campaign which forced many members into exile or underground fearing for their lives. Many of these members as well as others began to question the tactics they were using and many came to the conclusion that it was necessary to develop new methods of resistance.

The ideology and rhetoric of the B.P.P. led these members to find a solution through armed struggle. Their training as Panthers led them to respond to the escalation of attacks by calling for 'Taking the struggle to a higher level--guerrilla warfare', a phrase widely used in New York by rank and file during winter of 1970-71, (Holder Interview, 1989).

Many members came to the conclusion that as in the Cuban and Algerian revolutions the Party was being forced underground; that it was no longer possible for many members to function openly, that it was too dangerous. It

was also felt that the past response to governmental attacks was becoming stagnant and ineffective.

As many Party members drifted or were forced underground, the great majority of the Party began to refute revolutionary violence in hopes of gaining support from the Afrikan American community. In a statement before the Graduate Theological Union of Berkeley, CA, Huey Newton stated,

It was very wrong and almost criminal for some people in the Party to make the mistake to think that the Black Panther Party could overthrow even the Police Force. It ended up with the war between the police and the Panthers and if there is a war it needs to be between the community and the reactionary establishment or else we're isolating ourselves (The Black Panther, 5/29/71:14).

The above statement has a lot of validity to it. Nevertheless there are a few things that need to be addressed concerning the implications of Huey's statement. First of all, it was during the original patrols that the police of Oakland began isolating the B.P.P. From the very beginning of the Party's armed program, the government moved to isolate and engage the Party in a shooting war. Newton himself realized this in 1968 when he issued Executive mandate #3, demanding that Party members prepare themselves from the government onslaught.

Another issue which Newton did not confront was that the governmental apparatus forced many a Panther into such a shooting war. After all, Newton himself was shot by

police, and someone returned fire possible saving Newton's life. During those moments on October 27, 1967 Newton (and a possible companion) had no other alternative but to defend themselves. Bobby Hutton, Fred Hampton, and Mark Clark (to name only a few) did not call for a private war with the police but they were cut down without a chance to defend themselves (Clark, 1973).

Those Panthers who choose to amend the methods of resisting the governmental war against them were basing their actions on the conditions created by the government. Newton is correct to state that the Party became isolated from the people but to blame those who choose to resist is blaming the victim. The Party became isolated as a result of the successful governmental campaign. In 1968, the F.B.I. set out to "isolate and otherwise neutralize the B.P.P." (O'Reilly, 1989; Churchill, 1988). Yes, the Party played its part in assisting the government, but this was brought about not by armed resistance but by the simple fact that the B.P.P. did not retreat. There are those, of course, who claim that the Panthers' violent rhetoric and use of arms were the cause of the government's attacks. To those who believe this, I'd like to point out that Martin Luther King, Jr. was the major advocate of non violent action during the 1960s and he was attacked by the government and eventually was killed (O'Reilly).

Although Newton criticized Pratt and others for going underground or in exile, he himself eventually fled the government's grasp and sought political asylum in Cuba. He lived in exile for two years, 1973-1975.

The direction in which the Oakland based faction followed during the spring of 1971 was one of emphasizing and developing the survival programs and to de-emphasize armed self-defense. No longer were they advocates of militant resistance to the repression of the government. The survival of the Afrikan American community became the focal point of the Party. In an article entitled "State of the Struggle," the Party stated its new position; "These survival programs served to not only meet our basic needs (that of Afrikan Americans), but to unify our efforts to survive while struggling for complete liberation " (The Black Panther, 1/8/72:C) .

In hindsight, the B.P.P. introduced armed struggle into the modern day urban Afrikan American community. Their contributions, however, were primarily in the areas of theory and in terms of armed self-defense. In other words, the Party had a revolutionary philosophy and rhetoric but its actual practice was for the most part within the realm of self-defense against racist violence.

In the atmosphere of the late 1960's the Party became the focal point for the most militant of the the Afrikan American human rights movement. Their ideas of armed

self-defense had a profound impact on the perception of European Americans about Afrikan Americans. The urban rebellions of the mid - 1960's introduced Euro-America to the angry and desperate situation of many urban Blacks. The B.P.P. heightened this perception but somewhat organized the response of blacks and drew connections with other oppressed people's struggles worldwide.

It is difficult to isolate the distinct contributions of the B.P.P. within the Afrikan American community because so many factors are involved. There was the overall turbulent atmosphere of the '60's', in which the B.P.P. was the only focal point of the most militant/radical. During the late 60's Afrikan Americans began to gain some access to governmental institutions, thus facilitating increased resources and mobility. All these factors have contributed to the changing of attitudes of Afrikan Americans. The B.P.P. did, however, affect the way Afrikan American people regarded struggle. For one, the Party affected the manner in which people dealt with brutality by police. Before the 1970's there was extreme fear within the Afrikan American communities of the north and west.

The actions of the B.P.P. throughout the resistance contributed to an eroding of the fear and absolute power of individual police persons. In a number of major urban centers today there are civilian review boards of police conduct. In some municipalities police employees are

required to reside in the city they work. Many of these changes have been effected in part as a response to the B.P.P. actions.

The B.P.P.'s position on armed political work was high controversial. For some time many Afrikan Americans particularly among youth were attracted to the concept of Afrikan Americans use of arms for self-defense. The B.P.P. seized upon the message of Malcolm X who stated "We will get our freedom by any means necessary". The Party became ineffective in its goal of organizing the Afrikan American masses towards liberation was when the Panthers got caught up in a private war with the police. As Huey Newton stated, the Party became isolated from the needs and desires of the people.

CHAPTER 4

SURVIVAL PROGRAMS

The B.P.P. grew out of the radical and militant atmosphere of the mid 1960's. Many people, particularly young adults, were involved in learning about third-world liberation struggles in Afrika, Asia, and Latin America. They were also studying alternative economic systems. Afrikan Americans were also involved in questioning the economic realities of American capitalism. Before launching the B.P.P., Newton and Seale did extensive reading on other third-world liberation movements. In particular, they studied Frantz Fanon's Wretched of the Earth, concerning the Algerian revolution. Seale and Newton also studied the works of Mao concerning the Chinese revolution. Given this training and the atmosphere of the times it is understandable that the B.P.P. would embrace socialism. After all, the American capitalist system had relegated Afrikan Americans to the status of underemployed workers. Under capitalism Afrikan Americans found themselves the last to be hired and first to be fired. Their position within the economic system was amongst the lowest of all workers.

The B.P.P.'s embracing of socialism was consistent with the political climate of progressives during the

'60's. What was unique about the Party was that for the first time an independent Afrikan American mass organization had embraced socialism. Unlike Afrikan Americans who had joined the Communist Party/U.S.A. and other socialist-oriented organizations of the 40's, and 50's, the B.P.P. was totally controlled by Afrikan Americans.

The B.P.P.'s socialist stance was not primarily an intellectual one. Rather than theorize on the virtues of Socialism, the B.P.P. was more concerned with the practical aspects of sharing the wealth amongst the masses. To the B.P.P., socialism was the economic aspect of their motto 'All Power to the People.' In socialism the Party could push their overall goal of community control and self-determination. (See the Ten Point Program and Platform, especially #10 and #3.)

The Party saw its task as introducing socialism to the community in practical terms related to their reality. In this spirit, Diahnne Jenkins, Lieutenant of Health, Corona, NY Branch/NY, wrote:

Sisters, you practice socialism. If you needed a cup of sugar, all you had to do was go next door ... these examples just go to show you that socialism, or the idea of socialism is no big phenomenon ... So the B.P.P. will continue to develop these programs to serve the people and constantly raise the political level of the masses (The Black Panther, 11/1/69:19).

Elmer Dixon, Breakfast Coordinator, Seattle/B.P.P., discusses the socialist goals of the B.P.P. "Serving the

basic needs of the people is the primary task of the B.P.P. Implementing socialism within the community is one way of serving the people (The Black Panther, 11/15/69).

The educational aspect of the Party's socialistic programs was coupled with the Party's desire "To Serve the People." The survival programs were designed to educate the Afrikan American community as well as for the Party to serve the people. The concept of serving the people was one of the central themes of the B.P.P.

Beginning with Seale and Newton developing the Ten Point Program and Platform by surveying the Afrikan American community, the B.P.P. attempted to be responsive to the needs of the people. The survival programs were attempts at developing institutions which were in the interest of the people as well as winning them over to socialism.

The conditions of living in a nation that can send a man to the moon, ... and burn 'excess' wheat at harvest time while small children suffer year round from malnutrition, ... is too depressing to be allowed to continue without taking some positive action ... (K.C./B.P.P., The Black Panther, 2/28/70:18).

The B.P.P. wanted to develop programs which would 'lay the foundation for new alternatives to the present racist state machinery now in existence enjoying the cloak of legitimacy.' Richard Dharuba Moore, member of the NY 21, wrote:

History has shown us that in order to truly and thoroughly change the peoples relationship to the means of production which is controlled by less than 2-1/2% of the total population and place control of all of the material resources in the hands of the masses, it is necessary that the masses' begin to organize themselves ... and rest the power and wealth from the ruling class ... Hence it is definitely in the laboring masses best interest to institute through survival programs ... an alternative to inferior high priced foods, is low priced good food, or free food for children alongside cooperatively owned food stores, where people of the community collectively own, support and run cooperative stores, shops, etc., this is a beginning in creating an alternative to 20th century slavery under which we are victims destined to remain raw material for the pigs industry and army. In order to reach this level we must establish firmly, survival programs by serving the people and working in a manner that necessarily involves the community because it relates to their survival (The Black Panther, 11/28/70:9).

The B.P.P. believed that by setting an example with their survival programs they could serve the people as well as demonstrate to them the method of developing people's (community controlled) institutions.

The Black Panther Party is out to educate the masses of people to the power this tremendous power, that lies in their hands ... So the theory of socialism has to be put into practice in order for the masses to become educated to the philosophy (The Black Panther, 11/1/69:19).

As someone from the K.C. chapter of the People once said; "We are a part of the masses and without them there is no struggle. The masses have boundless creative power" (The Black Panther, 1/17/70). "The Panther community programs are attempting to spur the community into action --

creative action to make decisions and regain the dignity of the people" (The Black Panther, 4/18/70:9).

The B.P.P.'s main task was to serve the people while educating them to alternative ways of self-help. They did not believe that the basic human needs and desires of the Afrikan American community could be met through the capitalist economic system of the United States. They believed that through their survival programs the masses would develop the knowledge and experiences in developing 'peoples' institutions.' In this manner the programs were to be temporary and models for the people to learn from. The Party felt that the people's needs could only be fully met with the destruction of the capitalist system and the development of a socialist economy. They believed that this would only come about through a revolution. However, in order to organize people towards revolution it was first necessary to address their immediate needs and conditions.

The B.P.P. was quick to agree that the survival programs in themselves were not revolutionary, nor that they were going to solve the material conditions of Afrikan Americans, the programs were for the purpose of; "survival pending revolution" (The Black Panther, 1/9/71:3).

Although the Party did advocate political action in the form of petitioning the government, its primary method was to develop independent mechanisms for the people to change their conditions.

Realizing that the masses of people might not be interested in abstract revolutionary theory, the Party developed the concept of Survival Programs. Using the Ten Point Program and Platform as representative of the peoples' needs and desires, practical programs were developed for each item. The police watch patrols was the first of these programs. This program was designed to address point #7 of the Ten Point Program and Platform.

For example, the first police-watch program was originally intended to serve the community by assisting those who encountered police misconduct. The Party was successful in educating the community around armed self-defense. They heightened the awareness of Afrikan Americans about their right to arm themselves as well as set an example of confronting racist and/or brutal police. The Party was unsuccessful in the direct service aspect of the police-watch patrols, because Panthers became the focus of the police harassment and were unable to directly assist others subjected to police misconduct.

The police-watch program was short lived and by mid-1968, the Party had begun to develop other programs, addressing other needs. 'Self-defense' was dropped from its name, to reflect a more political and broader perspective (The Black Panther, 11/67 and 3/68).

The Party took on more of an organizing and service approach rather than the paramilitary activities such as

military-style marching at rallies, patrols, and other armed public displays. This does not mean that the Party failed to mobilize its membership and supporters in response to governmental attacks, or from time to time have public displays of arms. The Party always maintained a militant and armed stance, but following 1968 it directed activities centering on educating and serving the people by concretely addressing their basic needs while educating them to alternative ways of living. By 1969, the service aspect of the Party was probably most central for the rank and file membership.

Many of the Party's resources and energies were focused on these survival programs. It was also through these programs that the Party interacted with the community. It was through these programs that the Party showed people who Panthers were and what they stood for. The programs became a focal point for much of the support for the Party. The idea of Panthers feeding hungry young children, for example, was a strong weapon against the negative image that many governmental agencies were portraying to the public.

Conduct of Members

From the initial development of the Black Panther Party, it used the principles laid out by the then chairman of the Chinese Communist Party. Relying heavily upon Mao's

"Quotations from Chairman Mao," the Black Panther Party believed that in order to organize the masses and win them over to the revolution it was necessary for a revolutionary organization to "be the oxen for the people to ride" (Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung, 1968).

The rules and code of conduct of the Black Panther Party, was adopted from those developed by the Chinese communist party during its revolution. Many of these rules concern the behavior of the membership towards the 'poor and oppressed people' (Five Article By Chairman Mao Tsetung, 1968). Party members were required to dedicate themselves to the service of the people. That meant they would be respectful and helpful to those in the community.

The rank and file was encouraged to have a 'Boy Scout' attitude towards the community. Each Branch or center was encouraged to develop innovative programs and actions to serve the particular conditions. This alone forced the rank and file to be concerned with the needs of the community around them. In the Harlem, New York branch, for example, members obtained a snow-cone machine in the summer of 1969, in order to provide cool refreshments to the neighborhood youth. The Panthers did not require the children to attend any of their programs; they were just providing a service that European American businesses would not provide.

In many chapters, the Panthers were quick to assist people with immediate landlord disputes. On other occasions local Panthers were called on to provide protection from gangs. This was the case in New York's Lower Eastside in 1969, when a group of Hells Angels were terrorizing an apartment building. A tenant of the building called on the B.P.P. for assistance. A group of Panthers including National Field Marshal Don Cox investigated the situation and talked with the tenants and members of the gang. That night armed Panthers were placed in the building in case the gang did not heed the advice of the Panthers.

Fred Hampton once was arrested and forced to stand trial on charges of stealing ice cream from an ice cream truck and distributing it to neighborhood children (The Black Panther, 12/5/70:30). These are just a few examples of the degree to which many B.P.P. members went in order to 'serve the people.'

One Brooklyn Panther in describing a fellow Panther summed up the energy spent serving the people;

He was there every day ... At that point we were running ourselves to death. He was a relentless worker. He worked and worked. The average person couldn't do those things under those conditions. Like the breakfast program, you get up at five in the morning, you finish the breakfast program at ten o'clock; you leave and go sell a hundred newspapers; you stand on your feet all hours of the day (Chevigny, 1972:75).

Former Harlem Panther Assata Shakur wrote in her autobiography;

For the most part Panthers were a friendly open group of people who really went out of their way to be kind and helpful and, in spite of all the pressures and hardships they had to deal with, managed to be principled and to fight as hard as they knew how for our people (Shakur, 1987:229).

As early as 1967, Panthers realized that in order to engage in political activities it would be necessary for members to devote their entire energy and time to Party business. A conversation between Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver, following Seale's release from prison on charges stemming from the Sacramento incident;

I had to go to work, get a half-assed job. Eldridge ran it down that our real work was organizing people. 'Man don't worry about doing any work,' Eldridge said. 'We've got a lot of work to do. This isn't like leaving your family. We'll take care of that, all together. But let's organize the people ...' (Seale, 1970:202).

Not only were Party members required to participate in community programs. They also, for the most part, had to live in a collective manner. By 1969 most Panthers and 'community workers' engaged in Party activities on a full time basis. They also lived together in communal-type settings. Members usually lived in an apartment or a one or two family house. All resources obtained by members were turned in and the needs of each member were to be provided by the Party. Members took turns with the

cooking, cleaning and other basic tasks. Meeting the material needs of the rank-and-file membership was the responsibility of the Black Panther Party (Heath, 1976:118).

Free Breakfast Program

One of the most widely publicized and innovative of the Black Panther Party activities was the Free Breakfast Program. This program began as an attempt to address the material needs within the local communities in which the Black Panther Party functioned. Specifically, it was a response to the many children who attended school each day hungry. Each chapter of the B.P.P. had at least one Free Breakfast Program.

The Party through this program attempted to illustrate the need for nutritional assistance within the Afrikan American community. Feeding children before they went to school also served to expose the economic inequities within racist/capitalist America, by exposing the fact that the government and businesses have the resources to provide the basic human right of a nutritional meal at the start of the school day.

It is not enough to write about hunger and the starvation in America's Black communities because Black people are basically a non-reading people. The Black Panther Party has taken this into account, and we have seen that it is not enough to publish 2,000 page reports containing facts and statistics on

hunger in Babylon because we cannot feed a report to a hungry child. Instead, the Party has put its theory of serving the people into practice and has instituted free breakfast for children all across this country (The Black Panther, 2/28/70).

The Free Breakfast Program was an attempt to demonstrate to the community concrete grassroots methods of developing "... the power to determine the destiny of our Black community." Through the F.B.P., the B.P.P. could show by example that the people had the power to control hunger among their children.

The first free breakfast programs (F.B.P.) began in the latter part of 1967 and early part of 1968. In spring 1969 the B.P.P. launched an all out effort to institute this program on a national basis, with programs in each chapter (The Black Panther, 3/23/69; Foner, 1970). Initially, most B.P.P./F.B.P.'s operated out of churches or community centers.

The Kansas City, Missouri chapter had a unusually close working relation with one church. In testimony before the U.S. House Committee on Internal Security, Rev. Lawson of the Methodist Inner City Parish of Kansas City, discussed why his church worked with the F.B.P. and the B.P.P.

In terms of feeding some hungry children they solved some problems ... I think it is because of the kind of relationships that people have with members of the party in Kansas City that that is the only way you can get them into solving problems. I don't think you can get

into that by excluding them from your ministry or your relationships (H.C.I.S., 1970:2677).

In most cases the space was donated for a limited time in the morning (from 6:30 a.m. until 9:30 a.m., Monday through Friday).

Panthers working the breakfast program get out of bed at approximately 6:00 a.m. every school day. They set tables, clean facilities, cook and prepare the food, they direct traffic to see that the children cross the streets safely. After a day's breakfast has been completed, the Panthers attended to the constant task of procuring food from merchants who do business in the community (The Black Panther, 10/4/70; Foner, 1970:169).

The F.B.P.'s provided a vehicle for the B.P.P. to concretely meet the needs of the community, as well as allowing for daily contact between the Party rank and file and the community. Former New York B.P.P. member Malika Adams expresses the feeling of working with the program;

I was doing something concrete and I could understand it ... I could clearly see that if I get up at 4:00 in the morning and feed children ... I know these children were hungry because I'd have to go get them and I could see they were hungry (Adams, 3/25/88).

It is a beautiful sight to see our children eat in the mornings after remembering the times when our stomachs were not full (The Black Panther, 3/26/69; Foner, 1970:168).

Sufiya Burkari, another former B.P.P. member, stated: "I thought it was one of the most valuable programs, and anyone could get involved, you did not have to be a member, at first I wasn't" (Burkari Interview, 1988).

The B.P.P.'s position on attendance at the F.B.P. was that all children were welcomed. As the coordinator for the Philadelphia B.P.P./F.B.P., Sam Coley stated: "We feed any and all children who come to us hungry." In many programs there were European American children as well as Latinos, and Afrikan Americans. In New York City; Berkeley, California; Seattle, Washington; and Chicago, Illinois it was not unusual to find a multi-cultural population in both children and staff. Elmer James Dixon, breakfast coordinator for the Seattle, Washington B.P.P., stated: "Here the hungry kids of Colman Elementary School Black and White, are being fed good hot nutritious meals every morning before they attend class" (The Black Panther, 11/15/69).

At many centers there was very little formal interaction between the staff and the children. This was due to the shortage of staff and the amount of meals to be served. At other centers, staff members conducted informal discussions or classes on Afrikan American and Latin history, as well as political 'education' discussions. These discussions usually centered around "the true conditions of Blacks in racist America" (point #5, Ten Point Program). Panthers also discussed with the children the reasons for having the F.B.P.

Assata Shakur, of the Harlem Branch of the B.P.P., wrote:

Only once in a while, when everything went smoothly and we were through early, did we get a chance to spend some time with the children. Usually we were in a rush ... Some Panthers wanted them to learn the ten-point program and platform and others wanted to teach them Panther songs. I preferred talking to them ... exchanging ideas. So we just sort of combined these approaches. We were all dead set against cramming things in their heads or teaching them meaningless rote phrases (Skahur, 1987:220).

The little brothers and sisters in the breakfast understand very clearly that they are the 'revolution.' Whenever we ask them questions such as 'Why are you at the breakfast?' they reply 'so I can grow and be strong and take the Panthers' place' (Willie T. Kent Monk Teba, Rockford Branch, The Black Panther, 10/29/69).

A Des Moines B.P.P. member, Clive DePatten, discusses other issues covered at the F.B.P.:

We would say like there are five kids here, and one of these individuals has five pieces of candy. If you give each one of the others a piece of candy that would be socialism. Socialism was simply sharing, an equal distribution of whatever somebody had. This is the way we broke it down (H.C.I.S., 1970:4812).

The basic educational tool used during meals was the Ten Point Program and Platform of the B.P.P., posters displayed on the walls and/or The Black Panther.

In spite of the staff's willingness to discuss issues with the children there simply was not enough time for much political discussions. For example, during 1969 the Des Moines chapter had one F.B.P. that served over 100 meals per day (H.C.I.S., 1970:4812), while the Kansas City

chapter served over 200. Given the fact that the programs were housed in churches where space was limited, Rev. Lawson's words are credible; "The children were not there long enough for any kind of a teaching program ... I have no evidence that they actually did anything other than feed the children who were hungry" (Rev. Phillip Lawson, H.C.I.S., 1970:2673).

Many law-enforcement agencies have stated that the F.B.P. was a 'cover' for the 'violent nature' of the B.P.P. (H.C.I.S.:2808). The fact is the F.B.P. was a tremendous source of support for both the communities in which were served by them, as well as others who supported the effort and supported/contributed to the B.P.P. as a result. The B.P.P. itself never attempted to hide the educational and organizational goals of the F.B.P. At the inception of the F.B.P. as with other B.P.P. survival programs, the idea was to initiate programs and allow other organizations and individuals to assume control of them (H.C.I.S., Part 2:4351).

Organizations such as the Puerto Rican Young Lords, Chicano Brown Berets, Asian I Wor Kuen, Euro-Am. Young Patriots not only began their own independent F.B.P.'s but also worked with local B.P.P. chapters in jointly run programs. In NYC the B.P.P. and the Young Lords worked together in a number of F.B.P.'s in neighborhoods which contained both Latin and A.A. people. On the Lower

Eastside of Manhattan, the B.P.P. and a Euro-Am. community organization collaborated at another F.B.P.

Support and Funding

The food was obtained either by cash donations from individuals and/or food and material donations from businesses and organizations. For the most part, food was obtained by B.P.P. members (usually the F.B.P. coordinator) soliciting local supermarkets and other food establishments. The B.P.P. had a standing policy until at least 1971, that they would not accept government funding of any kind.

The United States House of Representatives investigation of the B.P.P. in 1969-1970 claimed that B.P.P. members extorted and intimidated local businesses into donating food. Although there are many documented incidents of B.P.P. initiated boycotts of specific stores, the only evidence of extortion has been the testimony of law enforcement personnel and small businesses during the 1970 H.C.I.S. hearings.

The B.P.P.'s position on people who refused to donate to the F.B.P. was that they were greedy capitalists (or would be capitalists) who cared little for the community and therefore should be expelled from the neighborhood. The B.P.P. viewed these establishments as enemies of the

community. Articles such as the following were written about specific stores:

One pig store had to be confronted with some common political strategy ... we showed him very clearly that we had the support of many people who spent 25-35 dollars per person in his store every week, and if he would rather keep 10 dollars and lose maybe 25-35 dollars then he is a fool (The Black Panther, 10/29/69).

Some articles even called for the people in the community to 'deal with' a particular establishment. There is no question that the B.P.P. did not look kindly on those making money off the Afrikan American community who refused to support the F.B.P. It is also true that they equally disapproved of those who cheated or provided shabby services to the community.

Until mid-1970, the official position of the B.P.P. on business in the community was point #3 of the Ten Point Program and Platform which stated: "We want an end to robbery by the white man of our Black Community" (later this was changed from 'white man' to 'capitalist').

The B.P.P.'s position towards capitalism notwithstanding, members did not physically intimidate or steal from local merchants in order to provide for the F.B.P. The pressure placed upon local businesses reflected the B.P.P.'s philosophy towards capitalism. The tactics used against such elements within the community were boycotts and articles in The Black Panther.

In locations such as Harlem and Boston the task of obtaining food for the breakfast programs, though time consuming, was for the most part successful.

The F.B.P. was a generating force within the B.P.P. By 1970 the program had become a model for many other survival programs such as free health clinics, food distribution, and clothing programs.

In the early stages of the survival programs during 1968-1969 the major theoretical emphasis was on the educational qualities of these efforts. As Carlton Yearwood of the Corona, N.Y. branch wrote in an article reporting on a free clothing rally:

Solidarity among the masses is becoming an objective reality through bringing the masses together so that they can see the contradiction of this capitalist society and weigh these findings with the ideology of Socialism 'Serving the People'. The reality of socialism overthrowing capitalism is because through their practice this will be the will of the people (The Black Panther, 11/1/69:19).

The concrete example of socialism and people power was the major focus. This can be seen with the emphasis of members working with other organizations and Party coalitions. The F.B.P. as with all the Panther programs were to be models which would have eventually been taken over and run by the people in the community. The B.P.P. encouraged individuals to donate their time and resources to the F.B.P. A member of the Chicago branch discussed community involvement in the F.B.P.:

People in the communities where our programs are in operation have come forth to cook and donate their money and time as they see that the program is for their benefit. Also they see it as a bright example of them using their resources and energies, without the burden of a bureaucratic program ... We honor the people who care about our youth (The Black Panther, 3/28/70:8).

On a given day at many F.B.P. sites there were more non-Panthers working than Panthers. This was consistent with the Panthers' view of serving the people. The B.P.P. was not interested in controlling the programs but rather initiating them. The Party did not limit nonparty involvement in their programs to individuals.

Throughout the nation local branches of the B.P.P. encouraged and worked with other organizations and groups in developing and implementing F.B.P.'s. In addition to the organizations who emulated the B.P.P., such as the Young Lords, Patriots and I Wor Kuen, etc., many small local groups began to implement programs. In Chicago the B.P.P. convinced a street gang, 'The Black Disciples,' to open a F.B.P. (Clark, 1973:5). In NYC Panthers worked in a F.B.P. run by a local European American neighborhood organization. The Black Panther newspaper ran articles announcing F.B.P.'s run by other organizations (The Black Panther, Jan. 10, 1970:4).

The extent and effectiveness of the B.P.P. - initiated F.B.P.'s are hard to assess. Each branch of the Party had at least one F.B.P. and most had more than one.

In locals such as Harlem, NYC over 200 children were fed daily. The Kansas City branch served over 500 children a week (The Black Panther, 2/28/70:18). Seattle, Washington Panthers fed over 200 children weekly (H.C.I.S., 1970:4352). The sheer number of children fed was not as important to the B.P.P. as was the example that they put forth.

Even investigators for the House Committee on Internal Security testified that the idea of the F.B.P. had generated a lot of support for the B.P.P. They also stated that during 1969, 1970, and 1971, many non-Panthers were involved in various free breakfast programs (H.C.I.S., 1970:4352). During the year 1970 the Federal government provided 51,380 'free or reduced' breakfasts daily to school children. The average cost per meal was \$.25. A 1972 Department of Agriculture report stated that this amount covered the cost of one piece of white bread and a half a glass of milk (Nutrition and Human Needs, 1972, Part 1). In contrast the B.P.P. initiated programs fed well over 3,200 children daily. (32 branches times 100 equals 3,200. This figure is very conservative since I have no data on other Panther-type F.B.P.'s.) The meals at the F.B.P.'s usually consisted of eggs, pancakes, or french toast, bacon (or another form of meat), juice, milk and on many occasions, fruit. Depending on availability, many

sites allowed the children to take home food for their families (Shakur, 1987:220).

The Black Panther Party's free breakfast program (and those inspired by them) were to this author's knowledge the most comprehensive free food program of its time. As mentioned earlier it was a strong source of support for the B.P.P. The status and success of the F.B.P. caused alarm among many governmental agencies. The programs and staff became targets of sabotage, police raids, and negative propaganda. In Philadelphia, PA, NYC, Chicago and California various rumors were spread throughout the community that the Panthers were poisoning the food or teaching children to kill (Bukhari Interview, 1988, The Black Panther, 11/15/69). In Brooklyn, NY one F.B.P. site was broken into, the refrigerator was turned off and posters torn from the walls (The Black Panther, 2/28/70:18).

Staff and children both were subjected to police surveillance and harassment. In Richmond, Cal. as in other cities, police made a practice of stopping and arresting F.B.P. staff as they attempted to open the sites in the morning (The Black Panther, 10/29/69). In Chicago, "The policing of the centers has also had an effect on the children ... Police take photos of them, a measure used to create fear, as if their presence alone isn't enough" (The Black Panther, Jan. 24, 1970:9).

Another attempt to sabotage the F.B.P. was to pressure local churches into denying space for the programs. Rev. Lawson of Kansas City, Missouri was called before the House Committee on Internal Security. At the hearing numerous Congressmen attacked him for his involvement with the B.P.P. F.B.P.. This pastor's superiors were notified of his Panther involvement. In response to such governmental pressure these church officials sent a letter to both him and Congress condemning his involvement (H.C.I.S., 1970). In San Diego, local F.B.I. agents put "pressure on the Catholic hierarchy" to ban a priest who allowed the F.B.P. at his church. The priest was subsequently transferred to New Mexico (O'Reilly, 1989:316).

The open and at times clandestine pressure placed upon members of the Afrikan American community contributed to the resistance which the B.P.P. encountered in securing resources and facilities. As mentioned earlier, churches still provided the strongest support for the F.B.P. Increasingly, the B.P.P. encountered difficulties with site hosts. The majority of opposition came, however, from landlords of buildings. In his book, "Racial Matters," Kenneth O'Reilly discusses the tactics of the F.B.I. in recruiting supporters in their campaign against the B.P.P.; "The recruiters sought persons who owned property in the

ghetto or had an interest in protecting ghetto property" (O'Reilly, 1989:268).

The confrontations with uncooperative landlords helped move the B.P.P. to begin developing multi purpose facilities. By the beginning of 1970 many local branches began operating out of their own facilities. In many places like Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oakland, New Orleans, Chicago, Corona, NY and elsewhere, one building housed the rank-and-file living quarters, offices, and sites for the various survival programs. This consolidation of B.P.P. facilities allowed the Party more control over the physical resources of the programs. It was a lot easier for them to safeguard the programs from sabotage and governmental pressure when these were housed in Panther facilities.

The increase in the use of B.P.P. facilities for the F.B.P. also subjected the programs to more direct assault by law-enforcement agencies. During police/F.B.I. raids on B.P.P. facilities in Chicago, Los Angeles and New Orleans, the materials for the breakfast programs were destroyed (The Black Panther, 2/21/70:2-27). Another disadvantage of the consolidation of the F.B.P. was the reduced working relations and involvement of non-Panthers at such sites.

Liberation Schools

During 1969, using the F.B.P. as a model, the party began instituting other 'survival programs.' One of the first of such programs was the 'Liberation School.' The Liberation Schools were an out-growth of the interaction with children of the F.B.P. Frustrated with the lack of time to talk with the children, many Panthers were eager to establish liberation schools. The basic mandate for this program was point number five of the Ten Point Program and Platform; "We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society" (Foner, 1970:2).

From the outset of the B.P.P. children were drawn to the local storefront offices. In 1966 Newton and Seale enlisted the local children in distributing flyers and posters (Seale, 1970:147). In Philadelphia, Chicago and New York, young children frequented the offices daily (The Black Panther, 8/23/69:15, 1/28/70:9, 2/28/70:18). The Party felt a need from the outset to begin to involve these young people in constructive tasks and education.

The Party held classes for the rank and file. These 'Political Education' (P.E.) classes usually consisted of reading and discussing Chairman Mao's Little Red Book and/or articles from The Black Panther. The Party also held P.E. classes for the general community. These

sessions usually consisted of a Party member leading discussions around individual articles in The Black Panther.

Following the mid-1969 Party purge the national headquarters, located in Oakland, CA, began instituting leadership political education. Within these classes local and national leaders studied both B.P.P. philosophy and advanced theory such as dialectical materialism and Marxism (Shakur, 1987:220).

The initial liberation classes were short classes, similar to the other political education classes held by the B.P.P. These classes were held in the local offices on either Saturdays or Sundays. The curriculum was consistent with the Ten Point Program and Platform of the B.P.P., news articles on local events from The Black Panther, and the learning and singing of songs.

Although point #5 of the Ten Point Program and Platform calls for an '... education that teaches us our true history,' these liberation classes rarely dealt with lessons in history. The subject matter was generally very contemporary, usually dealing with events and figures relating to the B.P.P. itself.

One of the major topics of these liberation school classes was the treatment of Panthers by the government, as well as the role of the government institutions within the Afrikan American communities. The B.P.P. interpretation of

the roles of the police, schools, hospitals, landlords and store owners was discussed and related to specific events surrounding and involving the B.P.P. or the local community.

Although the particular issues or subject matter varied from program to program, the underlying goal of the youth educational programs of the B.P.P. was to establish what they considered 'revolutionary principles' within the 'future revolutionaries.' Discipline, respect and love for Afrikan Americans were strongly emphasized, as was service to the community (Foner, 1970:170-172; The Black Panther, 11/15/69). A teacher in one San Francisco liberation school wrote: "The first thing I teach the kids is about the big family and what it is all about. In the big family we do not hit or swear at the brothers and the sisters. We are all brothers and sisters because we all are not free" (The Black Panther, 11/15/69). The Party felt that age-integrated classes would promote a cooperative atmosphere in which the older children were responsible for assisting the younger ones.

As with its other community programs, the B.P.P. regarded the role of their youth education program as developing the foundation for independent people's institutions.

One of the first examples of the Party's political education of local youth was the 1967 killing of a local

Oakland man by the police. Not only did the Panthers enlist the neighborhood youth in the distribution of Party literature, but they also held impromptu classes on the nature of the police within the Afrikan American community (Seale, 1970:76).

In Harlem, NY the Party held liberation classes during the spring and summer of 1969. Many of these classes were held by young 'community workers' and Panthers in training. The subject of the classes centered around the Ten Point Program and Platform and how it related to conditions within the Harlem community. One of the popular activities of these classes for the children was singing Panther songs (usually either traditional Afrikan American folk/civil rights songs or popular tunes with the words changed to reflect the B.P.P.'s political message). Another major attraction at the classes were films. Most often the films were on the B.P.P. or other documentaries on Afrikan American struggle.

The 1969 Harlem classes like many throughout the country were very informal. There usually was not a formal space with chairs and a blackboard; rather, many classes were held directly outside the storefront offices, while others were conducted in local parks. In some areas the local Panthers provided snacks and held recreational activities. One of the favorite activities of many young participants of these classes was close-order drills.

In Harlem during this period many children would watch as rank-and-file Panthers practiced drills in local parks. These children would in turn emulate the older Panthers, marching through the streets, chanting Panther slogans.

By the fall of 1969 the B.P.P. had begun to develop more formalized 'liberation schools.' Unlike the previous liberation classes, the liberation schools were much more formal. Many of the liberation schools were in session for about three to four hours once a week during the school year and full time during the summer. A number of them served meals (lunch, breakfast and/or a snack).

The curriculum at most liberation schools included basic academic skills as well as political and historical education. At many liberation schools, trips were organized to allow students to participate in demonstrations or attend trials of local Panther members. Following are the comments of a teacher at a Berkeley, CA liberation school in the summer of 1969:

One mother of five told me that her children made satisfactory grades in school, but when she saw the work they were doing in the liberation school, such as choosing articles and writing about them or giving an oral report about an event that happened in the world, she smiled with pride; she said 'their work shows that they can relate to what is happening to them and other poor people in the world.' Some of the children who can't even write, try because they understand that we are there to help each other (Foner, 1970:172).

An offshoot of the liberation schools were the various youth events sponsored by local B.P.P. chapters and branches. In San Francisco, for example, they organized a street festival for city youth (The Black Panther, 7/4/70:16).

In 1970 the B.P.P. began to establish day care centers. These centers were originally organized to care for infants of Panther members (Philadelphia, L.A., Algiers). Eventually, some centers expanded to include community people.

During this same year, the B.P.P. established a full-time school in Oakland, CA. Initially it was called "The Huey P. Newton Youth Institute" but the name was eventually changed to "The Oakland Community School." Sometime between 1971 and 1975 the school was incorporated, and operated separately from the B.P.P. The Oakland Community School outlived the B.P.P., eventually receiving government funding, becoming accredited. The school gained much publicity during the mid to late 1970's, as a model for community run alternative educational institutions (The Black Panther, 1/8/72:G).

The Food Program

Another program which developed out of the original F.B.P. was the free food program. Food distribution was one of the first of the survival programs which addressed

the needs of those other than children. In the process of feeding children in the morning, the B.P.P. was confronted with the reality that children were not the only ones hungry in the Afrikan American community. They realized that the parents and older members of the community were also in need of food.

The food program began in the early part of 1970 and had its biggest success in California. In the Hunters Point section of San Francisco, at one of the first programs over 1,500 bags of food were distributed to the community (The Black Panther, 3/21/70:7). At one food rally over 100,000 bags of food were distributed rally (The Black Panther, 1/8/72:C; Newton, 1973:180M).

The food distribution program was fairly easy for the party to implement. Basically the process was similar to that used for the F.B.P. only it was on a larger scale. Panthers would collect food, temporarily store it, bag it, and then distribute it at food rallies.

The party became very efficient at implementing this program. Although there is very little written documentation on the particulars of the methods used in obtaining the food it is possible to piece together the process. In order to secure the quantity of food necessary for a food rally, the Party solicited contributions from regional supermarket chains such as 'Safeway of Northern California,' rather than approach individual store managers

as was the case for the Free Breakfast Program (The Black Panther, 1972:C) .

This new method of obtaining resources allowed the Party to deal in much greater quantity than was possible earlier. Of all the programs of the Party, the food rallies had the ability to serve the most people at one event. Through the Free Food Program Party members demonstrated a professional-type ability necessary to transport, store, package, and distribute large quantities of food. This operation required trucks, cold storage, warehouses and an army of workers to bag and hand out the food. (Cooperative food banks and small distribution centers in 1989 require a staff of experienced and skilled workers as well as a tremendous amount of operating funds. The Western Mass Food Bank costs over \$500,000 annually to operate and in major metropolitan cities such as N.Y.C. the budget is close to five million dollars [information provided by Ms. Cathern D'Amato of the Western Mass Food Bank].)

Although the party became highly proficient in operating this program, it limited community participation and involvement. With the exception of the baggers and those handing out the bags, there was little opportunity for community people to be involved. The program was an example of the workability of mass food distribution but it lacked the grass roots participation of the other survival

programs. With this program, the B.P.P. deemphasized the educational quality of their work and focused upon serving the masses.

There were a few incidents connected with the food program which were inconsistent with past Black Panther Party programs and practices. One was that in September of 1970, under the direction of recently released Newton, the B.P.P. delivered food to striking auto workers in Richmond, CA (The Black Panther, 10/10/70). The providing of food to striking workers marked a shift in the Party's definition of serving the masses. Until that time, the party had confined their programs for the poorest of the population. Seldom did the Party utilize its survival programs to serve a specific political group such as a labor union. The breakfast programs served all children who attended and Panther members were very conscious of not using the program for political purposes. With the assisting of a striking labor group the Panther Party was maneuvering for political support rather than meeting the needs of the masses.

Another interesting event took place in 1973 long after the Party's programs and platform had changed and the Party had become a local organization. With the reputation of the Oakland Panthers for distributing massive quantities of food, the Panthers acted as the distributors for the one million dollars worth of food given away by San Francisco

newspaper owner Randolph Hearst as partial ransom for his kidnapped daughter, Patty Hearst. Hearst first attempted to distribute the food on his own, but the effort proved chaotic and a riot broke out at the distribution sites. Once the Black Panther Party was called in the food was distributed in an orderly and professional manner. It should be pointed out that the only connection between the B.P.P. and the Hearst kidnapping was that the Party distributed food donated to the people by Hearst (San Francisco Chronicle; The Black Panther, 1974).

This food distribution effort further exemplified the continuing proficiency of the party programs. It also demonstrated the Party's developing willingness to work with established institutions; i.e., the Hearst foundation and local law enforcement agencies.

Clothing Programs

One program conceived of prior to the Hearst/Panther food rally was the Probation/Golfbag Production Program. This program was to serve as a state correctional pre-release program, as well as a golfbag production operation. It was the Party's idea to secure a contract to manufacture golfbags. With the extra resources and savings from wages the Party was to manufacture and distribute clothing and shoes free throughout the community. The workers would be ex-offenders released from California

prisons and assigned to work at the Black Panther Party golfbag factories (The Black Panther, 8/2/71:E).

This proposed program, although quite different, was an outgrowth of the free clothing programs. The original program consisted of local rank and file members soliciting neighborhood cleaners and clothing stores for clothing donations. The community at large was also called upon to donate used clothing. The clothes were then distributed on a continuing basis at local B.P.P. facilities or during major clothing rallies. These earlier clothing rallies were usually held during street fairs, political rallies, or during special survival fairs in neighborhood centers, or schools. The volume of clothing distributed varied from locale to locale. At one Baltimore, MD clothing rally held in 1970 over 250 articles of clothing were distributed (The Black Panther, 6/2/70:5). In most cases neighborhood residents either donated or picked up clothes from the various B.P.P. facilities. This practice, although not too efficient in distributing large quantities of clothes, did facilitate community participation.

One of the first clothing rallies was held in Harlem, NY at a local school. The rally was attended by hundreds of Afrikan American and Latino welfare recipients who were able to choose from 500 square feet of tables full of donated clothing (The Black Panther, 11/1/69:19). It took place following the fall opening of school in recognition

of meeting the particular needs of the community. As stated by Defense Captain Carlton Yearwood;

The Free Clothing Drive was initiated to help serve the Welfare Recipients in clothing their children for school ... because we clearly see that the government does not care if we send our children to school properly dressed or not (The Black Panther, 11/1/69:19).

Medical/Health Program

One successful grass-roots program which also expanded and developed were the free medical clinics. The B.P.P. initiated a medical and health care program, in the early part of 1969.

Various chapters of the party began working with health professionals and medical students conducting medical check ups in the local communities. Conditions and problems such as high blood pressure, sickle cell anemia, lead poisoning, and drug abuse were some of the major concerns of the initial medical programs. Blood and blood-pressure testing, nutritional counseling, general check ups, and drug counseling were some of the services provided by the first Black Panther medical teams. Most of the Panthers who worked in these medical teams were trained by medical volunteers who were either medical students or professional nurses and physicians. At first B.P.P. members concentrated on acquiring first aid skills. To this end many branches conducted first aid classes among

the rank and file. The first medical cadres of the Party were also responsible for the medical needs of the rank and file members.

The following is an excerpt from Harlem Panther Assata Shakur concerning her involvement in the N.Y. chapter medical cadre.

The medical cadre was responsible for the health care of the Panthers. We made medical and dental appointments for them and taught them basic first aid so that they could help the people in emergencies. We also set up tables on the street corners and gave free TB tests or gave out information on sickle-cell anemia. It was also my job to work with the Black medical students and doctors who we were counting on to help us set up a free clinic in Harlem.

Every week all the medical cadre members from the Bronx, Brooklyn, Harlem, Jamaica, and Corona branches met ... The head of the medical cadre was Alaywa, and from the first moment she gained my response and admiration. She was serious about everything that concerned Black people, when it came to their health she was a fanatic (Shakur, 1987:217).

Although the Harlem branch never did establish a free health clinic the Panthers worked with progressive European American and Puerto Rican medical people in a clinic on the Lower Eastside of Manhattan. In Brooklyn, N.Y. there was The New York 21 Community Health Clinic. Aside from physical examinations, various tests and basic medical treatment, the clinic focused upon health education and preventive medicine (The Black Panther, 2/28/69:17). In Portland, Oregon the B.P.P./N.C.C.F. established The

People's Health Clinic which was open five days a week for three hours (The Black Panther, 2/28/69:17).

Of all efforts to establish health clinics throughout the nation during 1970 and 1971 two stand out as extremely successful. One of these clinics operated in Chicago and the other in Boston.

Sometime in January or February of 1970, the Illinois Chapter of the B.P.P. began establishing medical clinics. In March the Rockford, IL Branch opened a clinic (The Black Panther, 3/21/70:8). A couple of months earlier the Chicago branch opened the Surgeon Jake Winter's Peoples Medical Care Center. The clinic served over 2,000 people within the first two months of its existence. The center was staffed by gynecologist, obstetricians, dentists, pediatricians, optometrists, general practitioners, R.N.s, lab-technicians, and public advocates. The B.P.P. held weekly informational meetings for the public. They also organized community volunteers, and medical students to canvass the community, testing for lead poisoning sickle cell anemia, and diabetes. (The Black Panther, 1/29/70 & 4/3/71:3) Although this clinic was staffed by qualified medical staff and had adequate equipment, the city health authorities repeatedly attempted to close it down. In addition to government harassment the clinic was also subjected to various break-ins, in which nothing was taken

but equipment was vandalized. On one occasion shots were fired into the clinic (The Black Panther, 3/28/70:8).

The Surgeon Jake Winter's Peoples Medical Care Center named after a Illinois chapter member who was shot and killed by Chicago police on November 13, 1969, exemplified a combination of B.P.P. members, other skilled people, and the general community working together on a specific survival program. The B.P.P. was unable to implement it by itself. Through the work with progressive students and medical professionals the Party was able to utilize their advanced skills on a grassroots community level. The Party facilitated the process of medical skills and services coming into the Afrikan American and other poor communities. The health clinic also involved community people as participants in the maintenance of the program. By encouraging the community to participate in the medical cadres, the Party was not only providing medical care to the community but was also training community people in public health.

Another highly successful clinic which drew large community participation was the People's Free Health Clinic started by the Massachusetts chapter of the B.P.P. Opened in May of 1970, the clinic was housed in a trailer on land seized by the Boston Black United Front in an attempt to stop the city from building a highway through the Afrikan American community. In addition to holding public health

classes, the Boston center also trained lab technicians, nursing assistants, and medical secretaries.

One of the motivating incidents which propelled the establishment of the Boston Peoples Health Centers was the shooting death of an Afrikan American patient by police at Boston General Hospital. The B.P.P. used this incident to mobilize support for community control of medical care. At the opening ceremony, the mother of the slain man, Ms. Julia Mack, donated a portrait of her son to the clinic.

At the first anniversary of the clinic's opening, over one hundred community people attended a dinner celebration. At this event Ms. Mack was honored for her support (The Black Panther, 6/12/71:15).

The Boston Peoples Health Center, like the one in Chicago, was successful in providing medical care to the community in a professional manner while continuing to involve the community in the operation of the program.

During 1971 the B.P.P. launched a national campaign to raise the public consciousness on the issue of sickle cell anemia. In addition to their national testing campaign enacted in 1970, the B.P.P. was a leading participant in the establishment of a research foundation dedicated to combating Sickle Cell Anemia (The Black Panther, 1/8/72:G).

Another aspect of the B.P.P.'s work around health care consisted of articles and reports in the Party

newspaper. These articles reported on proper diets, history and symptoms of specific diseases, and analysis of the health industry in the United States.

The B.P.P. also reported on the substandard medical services provided Afrikan Americans and other poor communities. Articles on treatment and conditions within hospitals and clinics appeared frequently in the Party's paper. One of the major problems confronting people at such facilities was the extensive paperwork and bureaucracy. The Party was particularly sensitive to the treatment of persons receiving public assistance. A Panther, Margaret Turner, referring to a B.P.P. health clinic in Philadelphia, PA., wrote:

The amount of money the person has, should not be the decisive factor in the type of treatment that he receives. The all too familiar case in the lives of people in a capitalist society -- is profit over human value ... The clinic is run by doctors and nurses who have donated their time to serve the people. Federal funds and help from the Department of Public Assistance will not be accepted. The doctors know that they are there to serve the people, as human beings, and this will be the practice of the clinics and the doctors. We serve the people not the paper gods" (The Black Panther, 5/19/70:9).

CHAPTER 5

WORKING COALITIONS

The B.P.P. had working relations with a few organizations. Throughout its history, there were some attempts at developing coalitions and united fronts. One of the Party's first efforts at building coalitions was the proposed drafting of three S.N.C.C. leaders into the B.P.P.

In the early stages of the Party's campaign to free Huey Newton (Jan. 1968), Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver made numerous trips to Southern California and Washington, D.C. to confer with S.N.C.C. leaders James Forman and Stokely Carmichael. Both Seale and Cleaver felt that these individuals would provide the needed publicity on the plight of Huey Newton. The B.P.P. wanted to enlist S.N.C.C. in a working alliance around the freedom of Newton. In particular, the Party was interested in developing a working relation with Carmichael, who at that time was one of the leading Black Power advocates. Impressed with their discussions with Carmichael, Seale and Cleaver decided to propose to draft three top figures in S.N.C.C., Forman, Carmichael, and Rap Brown onto the Black Panther Party Central Committee.

Many of the plans to draft the S.N.C.C. leaders centered around their appearance at a huge

rally/celebration planned for Newton's birthday. It was the Party's idea that the S.N.C.C. leader's presence at such an event would draw national attention. In fact, upon his arrival in California, Carmichael visited Newton in jail and then held a news conference which was covered nationally (The Black Panther, 3/15/68:2).

On February 17, 1968 The B.P.P. held a rally at the Oakland Auditorium in which one thousand people attended and \$10,000 was raised for Newton's defense. At this rally S.N.C.C. leaders Carmichael, Forman, and Brown spoke. Each pledged support to both Newton's freedom and to the program of the B.P.P.

Following speeches by the S.N.C.C. leaders, Cleaver announced a B.P.P. - S.N.C.C. alliance. The only details other than statements of support and unity which were given at this rally was the drafting of H. Rap Brown, James Forman, and Stokely Carmichael onto the Central Committee of the B.P.P. Forman was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, Brown, Minister of Justice and Carmichael was named Prime Minister (The Black Panther, 3/16/68:15).

In his book Seize the Time, Seale states that he and Cleaver were primarily interested in joining forces with Carmichael, but Carmichael was involved in an internal dispute within S.N.C.C. leadership. It is Seale's contention that the B.P.P. drafted all three leaders to

avoid becoming involved in the internal dispute within S.N.C.C.

Following the February 1968 rally and draft, there is little evidence of actual work between the two organizations. In reviewing The Black Panther newspaper from late 1967 until the fall of 1968, one finds numerous announcements of S.N.C.C. sponsored events held in the S.F./Oakland Bay area.

Within a year of the February 1968 rally, the names of the drafted S.N.C.C. leaders were dropped from the published list of B.P.P. leaders. The following year (1970) both Eldridge Cleaver and Huey Newton held a press conference charging Carmichael with being a C.I.A. agent. The basis of Newton's charge is the fact that Carmichael had made damaging public statements about the B.P.P. at the same time that the House Committee on Internal Security was conducting an national investigation of the B.P.P. (The Black Panther, 9/5/70).

Another coalition established by the Party was the alliance with the European American, San Francisco based Peace and Freedom Party (P.F.P). The basis of this working relationship was a pledge that the P.F.P. would provide needed resources for the B.P.P.'s campaign to Free Huey, and that the P.F.P. would also support B.P.P. leaders in local and national elections. For their part the B.P.P.

was to assist the P.F.P. in voter-registration drives in the Afrikan American communities of the Bay area.

The B.P.P./P.F.P. alliance produced far more material benefits for the Party than did the S.N.C.C./B.P.P. alliance. In fact, the major basis of this alliance was the material aid and publicity apparatus placed at the disposal of the B.P.P. The Panthers were given sound trucks, sound equipment for rallies, enhanced duplicating capacity for posters and flyers, as well as funds for Newton's legal defense. The P.F.P. also sponsored the 1968 presidential campaign of the Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver. The Cleaver presidential campaign was a very important endeavor for the transformation of the B.P.P. from a local/statewide organization into a national one. With the funds supplied by the Peace and Freedom Party, Cleaver, and the B.P.P. had the pretext to travel the country.

Running on a platform of 'Free Huey', and the B.P.P. Ten point program and platform, Cleaver traveled the nation gathering support for Newton's defense and the programs of the B.P.P. The Party used these campaign trips to meet and talk with local people interested in the B.P.P. Using the resources of the P.F.P., the Panthers began to organize local people to work on the Cleaver presidential campaign.

Alprentice Bunchy Carter, a Panther who was originally from Southern California, led the organizing efforts for both the Cleaver campaign and the eventual Southern California chapter of the B.P.P. in January of 1968 (Seale:1970). On campaign trips to New York City, the Panthers met with a young man named Jordon Ford. Ford went on to organize the New York chapter in April of 1968.

The Cleaver presidential campaign was viewed by the B.P.P. solely as a way to gather support and organize on a national level. In that respect it was a tremendous help to the growth of the B.P.P. The role of the P.F.P. in the coalition was less of a partner and more of a support apparatus for the B.P.P.

In the San Francisco/Oakland Bay Area, the coalition between these two Parties was a little more operational. In the Bay Area, Panthers worked with the P.F.P. in registering voters. In communities such as Oakland, Berkeley and San Francisco, the P.F.P. ran other members of the B.P.P. for local offices. Kathleen Cleaver ran for U.S. Congress in San Francisco, Bobby Seale ran in Berkeley, and the Party ran Huey Newton in Oakland.

The members of the P.F.P. worked in the European American communities in campaigning for these candidates, while the B.P.P. continued its organizing in the Afrikan American communities. Although there were disputes between

the two organizations, the P.F.P. usually followed the desires of the B.P.P.

Even though the B.P.P. was not really interested in obtaining public office, Party efforts in the 1968 local primaries drew Newton and Seale over 25,000 votes apiece, thus qualifying them for the general election (Seale 1970:239).

The above-mentioned efforts to work with other organizations operated to the advantage of the B.P.P. They allowed the Party to gain publicity and support outside the San Francisco/Oakland Bay Area. In the case of the S.N.C.C. alliance, there was never an actual working arrangement. The only benefit was one of public relations, since the S.N.C.C. leaders were better known on the national level.

In the P.F.P. coalition the Party added material resources to their efforts at local organizing and national growth. Although the benefits of this relationship were national in scope, the B.P.P. and P.F.P. did not cooperate on a national level. Panthers and Peace and Freedom Party members did not work together in New York or Chicago. The working relations between the two areas were confined to the Bay Area and Los Angeles California.

Alliances with Latin American Organizations

By the summer of 1969 the B.P.P. was a national organization with over 32 chapters and branches throughout the United States (The Black Panther, 6/3/69). It had established working relations with a few local and regional organizations. Many of these organizations were similar to the B.P.P. in program, ideology, appearance, and mode of operation.

Of the various organizations working with the B.P.P., four stand out; The Brown Berets, The Young Lords, I Wor Kuen, and the Young Patriots. Although patterned after the B.P.P., these organizations maintained an autonomous leadership and pursued their own agendas.

One of the primary factors in the success of these alliances was the Party's belief that each national minority (or in their words each 'domestic third world colony') should organize in its own community. This allowed the Party to work with Mexican Americans, Asian Americans, and Puerto Ricans, as well as poor European American organizations with a limited amount of competition.

One of the first third world organizations to establish an alliance with the B.P.P., was the Mexican American Brown Berets of Southern California. The Southern California Chapter of the B.P.P. and the Brown Berets supported each others' work. Each organization

participated in various events of the other (The Black Panther, 8/15/70:21. 1/23/71:5).

To help organize Mexican Americans, the B.P.P. in the summer of 1969 printed part of their newspaper in Spanish. (The Black Panther, 8/16/69, 9/6/69). The Party also printed articles which dealt with organizing efforts in the Latin American communities of Southern California.

Another ally was the Young Lords Organization/Party. Originally a Chicago street gang, the Young Lords Organization (Y.L.O.) was founded in 1969 by Cha Cha Jimenez. The Chicago B.P.P. worked with the Y.L.O. in eliminating inter-gang violence (Foner 1970). The Y.L.O. and B.P.P. worked in joint programs such as the Surgeon Jake Winter's Peoples Medical Care Center, as well as free breakfast programs.

In New York the local chapter also worked with the Young Lords organization. When the New York Y.L.O. broke with the Chicago group and formed the Young Lords Party, the B.P.P. continued to support both factions. The Chicago B.P.P. continued to work with the Y.L.O., while the New York Chapter maintained working relations with the new Y.L.P.

The Harlem N.Y.C. Branch of the B.P.P. had quite a bit of contact with the N.Y.C. Young Lords Party. Aside from the mutual assistance of each others' programs such as medical clinic, and breakfast programs, and food clothing

distribution, each group came to the assistance of the other in times of governmental attacks.

The Young Lords did extensive propaganda work in the Puerto Rican neighborhoods around the issue of the arrest of the New York 21. The Lords would send their members to the courthouse during demonstrations. When a member of the Young Lord Party was arrested and found hanged in his jail cell, the N.Y. B.P.P. mobilized their members and supporters to assist the Lords in a protest action. Both organizations also served on numerous multi-organizational efforts such as citywide housing and student coalitions (The Black Panther, 12/26/70:3).

During the funeral for the slain Y.L.P. member, Young Lords and Black Panthers were stationed throughout the church with arms. Panthers also served as part of the honor guard and bearers (The Black Panther, 11/7/70:5).

Asian Americans

Another, less active coalition was with a Chinese-American organization I Wor Kuen and The Red Guard. As with the Young Lords Party, I Wor Kuen and The Red Guard focused their organizing efforts within the working class communities. Their primary target area was the Chinatowns of New York City, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.

One of the unifying factors between these two organizations and the B.P.P. was their adherence to the teachings of Chinese leader Mao/Tsetung. Like the B.P.P., they also believed that the oppression of Asian Americans and took the form of each national minority group constituting a domestic colony.

The B.P.P. and The Red Guard participated in joint activities similar to those shared with the Y.L.O./P. One interesting aspect of this working relation was the fact that for many B.P.P. members, the contact with The Red Guard and I Wor Kuen members was their first serious contact with the Asian American community.

Working Class European Americans

One of the European American organizations which had organizing relations with the B.P.P. was the Young Patriot Party. Founded in White working-class neighborhoods of Chicago, the Young Patriots were an anti-racist, pro-socialist organization. As with the Young Lords Organization, many Young Patriots had their roots in gangs. In the case of the Patriots many of them had belonged to motorcycle gangs (Foner 1970:239).

In New York City, The Young Patriots organized on the upper eastside of Manhattan which has been a traditional German-American working class neighborhood. Unlike the West coast Peace and Freedom Party, the Young Patriots were

not middle-class students or counter culture/hippy types. The Patriots claimed to be from the true poor and working class culture of Appalachia. Rather than organize among students and progressive European Americans, they attempted to work in areas where Afrikan Americans and other third world peoples would not be welcomed (Foner, 1970:239).

The National Front Against Fascism

The B.P.P. had working relations with the above-mentioned organizations before the summer of 1969. The relations were loose and unstructured; there was no official platform which united the various organizations. During the spring of 1969, the B.P.P. began to organize a conference which would bring together all the progressive militant organizations. During the conference, workshops were held at which various issues and views were discussed. The objective of the conference was to develop a United Front to fight 'fascism'.

Unlike the 1968 Free Huey Birthday rally when the B.P.P. was seeking added publicity and support from the larger S.N.C.C. organization, at the National Front Against Fascism conference the Party was clearly the largest and most dynamic of all the participating formations.

Of the progressive European American organizations participating in the conference, most clearly recognized the Black Panther Party as the leading 'revolutionary'

organization in the United States. A few months earlier the Students for a Democratic Society (S.D.S.), had publicly recognized the B.P.P. as the vanguard party in the U.S. revolutionary struggle (Foner 1970:225). The Peace and Freedom Party and the Young Patriots Party had already proclaimed their endorsement of the B.P.P.'s platform and programs.

Of the Third World organizations participating, most had already demonstrated their active support of the B.P.P. program. The Young Lords Organization, Brown Berets, I Wor Kuen, and The Red Guard, leading groups at the conference, all had programs and platforms similar to the B.P.P.

With the exception of the many small communist oriented European American groups, a few small Afrikan American nationalist organizations, and local student groups the majority of people in attendance already supported the programs and platform of the B.P.P. The fact that 4,000 people attended the conference can be attributed to the level of individual and small organizational support of the B.P.P. and their allies. The conference failed to attract the many organizations who were not already participating in B.P.P. or B.P.P.-type activities. In the sense of developing a broad united front the conference was thus not successful in drawing together various factions and elements. What the conference did accomplish was to

consolidate B.P.P.'s support. It strengthened the ties which already existed.

Another function that the conference served was to allow many small local and student organizations from areas where the B.P.P. was not present to meet and be exposed to the Party. The Party straightened and consolidated their support among the same populations they had already been working with: Among militant and radical students and young working-class urban youth. Older, more established civil rights groups were not present, nor were many of the Afrikan American cultural nationalists such as LeRoi Jones (Imari Baraka).

By mid-1969, there was little evidence of an effort to organize in the Southeast of the United States. The conference in July of 1969 did little to change that situation.

National Committee to Combat Fascism

Following the United Front Against Fascism Conference, the B.P.P. went on to form the National Committee to Combat Fascism (N.C.C.F.). This formation was to be a follow up of the unity developed from the conference. Since the conference was a reaffirmation of established Party support, the N.C.C.F. developed into a quasi - B.P.P. affiliate. The N.C.C.F. offices served as organizing agents of the Black Panther Party. In fact,

since the 1969 B.P.P. purge, there was a moratorium on the establishment of new Party branches and chapters. Most new Party facilities following 1969, were N.C.C.F. offices.

There were no separate N.C.C.F. leadership, rules, philosophy, or directives. Persons working in a N.C.C.F. office operated under the leadership of the B.P.P., and did Panther work. Members of the Black Panther Party did work out of N.C.C.F. offices, and usually they were in leadership roles. In a sense, the N.C.C.F. branches became the organizational rank and file of the B.P.P.

In some locations European Americans were allowed to be part of the N.C.C.F. European American participation occurred only where the N.C.C.F. was involved in working in European American communities. In Berkeley and Chicago, Illinois the N.C.C.F. membership included European Americans. Exceedingly few European Americans belonged to the N.C.C.F.

For the most part the only difference between a N.C.C.F. office and a Black Panther Party office was that the N.C.C.F. office was established following the 1969 purge.

Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention

A year after the National Front Against Fascism conference, the B.P.P. again attempted to hold a national conference which would represent the desires and views of

the entire militant radical movement in the United States. In connection with this later party effort it was decided to undertake the rewriting of the United States Constitution.

The concept of the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention was far less ambitious than the united front, because this time the Party was not calling for a long term commitment.

The Constitutional Convention was to take place in two stages. First, there was a preliminary session. At this planning session various organizations and interests were to develop the issues/workshops to be conducted during the actual convention. A few months later the members and organizations who participated in the planning sessions were to reconvene and draft a new peoples constitution.

The preliminary session was held over the weekend of September 4-6, 1970 at Temple University, in Philadelphia. Between 15,000 to 20,000 people attended (The Black Panther, 9/19/70, 10/31/70:7) including many organizations and individuals from European American women's liberation organizations as well as Afrikan American separatist nationalists.

Some of the issues discussed were a separate nation for Afrikan Americans, cultural liberation, gay and lesbian rights, welfare rights, housing, drug abuses, world peace, and Vietnam veterans (The Black Panther, 9/19/70:1).

Many grassroots organizers attended the first session in Philadelphia. Unlike the July 1969 conference, this one was attended by people and organizations from southeastern states such as Florida and North Carolina. Present also at the conference were representatives from the Afrikan liberation movements, Palestinian struggle, Germany, Colombia, and Brazil.

Two of the possible reasons for the great diversity and the magnitude of the participation was the broad range of issues to be discussed and the fact that Huey Newton had been released less than two months prior to the preliminary session. Crowds in the thousands turned out to hear Newton speak for the first time on the East Coast. For much of the Party membership on the East Coast, this was an opportunity to hear and see the man for whose freedom they had been endlessly working. For much of the rank and file attending the plenary session it was sort of a celebration of their victory.

For many of the East Coast rank and file membership, the idea of finally meeting their leader was far more pressing than participating in the various workshops. Zayd Milik Shakur, Deputy Min. of Information of the NY state chapter describes the difficulty in accommodating the massive crowds wanting to see and hear Newton; "Upon arriving at the 4,200 seat Temple University gymnasium and seeing several thousand (more) people beating at the doors

trying to gain entrance ... we made an announcement that Huey would speak again ... " (The Black Panther, 9/19/70:1).

As it turned out the B.P.P. decided against Newton speaking a second time. Although the Party took many opportunities to apologize, many in the B.P.P. were disturbed by the behavior of many of those attempting to hear Newton. In the same article cited above, Shakur addressed such displeasure; "It must be pointed out that Huey P. Newton is not an entertainer. Some people were in Philadelphia simply relating to the 'singer' and not the 'song' and had lost sight as to why we were there ... " (The Black Panther, 9/19/70).

In spite of the overwhelming desire to see and hear, Newton the fact that over 15,000 people participated in the weekend conference indicates that most participants were interested in working on drafting a new constitution. Only half the participants attempted to hear Newton speak.

In his speech, Newton outlined the objectives of the Party's efforts to draft a new Constitution.

The history of the United States as distinguished from the promise of the idea of the United States leads us to the conclusion that our sufferance is basic to the functioning of the government of the United States. We see when we note the basic contradictions found in the history of this nation. The government, the social conditions, and the legal documents which brought freedom from oppression, which brought human dignity and human rights to one portion of the people of this nation had

entirely opposite consequences for another portion of the people ... The people of the 18th Century have the ruling class of the 20th Century are the descendants of the slaves and the dispossessed of the 18th Century ... Black people and oppressed people in general have lost faith in the leaders of America, in the government of America, and in the very structure of American government ... We are here to ordain a new Constitution which will ensure our freedom by enshrining the dignity of the human spirit (The Black Panther, 9/12/70:Centerfold) .

The strength of the planning session of the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention was the participation within the various workshops. Many organizations sent representatives to present various proposals which were discussed, debated, and refined. Each workshop was to submit a proposal which in turn was to be presented at the Constitutional Convention in November 1970. The general body of the Convention voted to hold the next session in Washington D.C. (The Black Panther, 10/31/70:7) .

The positive aspect of the Constitutional Convention was that in the process, the B.P.P. brought together many of the concerns and interests of the disenfranchised. The various views and interests had an opportunity not only to meet and converse with one another, but also to draw connections between their particular concerns or predicament and those of others.

The planning session did encounter a few difficulties most of which can be attributed to the

government's actions. A few days prior to the opening of the convention, on September 2, 1970, the Philadelphia police department raided three facilities of the host Branch. (For further details of the raid, see Chapter 12.) Fourteen Black Panther Party members were arrested on charges of illegal possession of weapons. In the process of arresting the Panthers the police ransacked the facilities, tearing out the windows, destroying furniture and a heating boiler, as well as taking all office equipment and \$1,500 in cash (The Black Panther, 9/5/70:1, 9/17/70:3).

In spite of the raid, the B.P.P. was able to implement its task of housing, feeding, and directing the 2,000 to 5,000 delegates. B.P.P. members from the entire East Coast focused on ensuring that the convention session went off with a minimum of problems. An example of the coordination and magnitude of planning for the convention was the manner in which the Party provided food. Gary Bumpus, B.P.P. member operating out of New Haven CT., was the food coordinator. He was given a truck a month in advance and was instructed to obtain donations. Sixteen-year-old Bumpus then organized the soliciting of food donations. Once he had secured enough food to fill a Mack truck he then had it driven down to Philadelphia (Gary Bumpus Interview 1988). Once the food arrived in Philadelphia, Panthers distributed it to the various food

centers set up in local churches (The Black Panther, 10/31/70:7) .

Aside from the B.P.P. and other organizations' efforts, community groups throughout the city of Philadelphia as well as various churches throughout North Philadelphia, donated their facilities. A different type of community assistance was provided following the police raids on the B.P.P. facilities. After the raids the police sealed B.P.P. offices, but the following day Panthers as well as people in the community opened them up.

In North Philly, two rival gangs had made a truce ... They emerged 200-300 strong and when 15 carloads of pigs drove up and asked who gave them permission to open up the people's office, their reply was 'the people,' and police had to eat mud instead of facing the wrath of an angry armed people (The Black Panther, 9/19/70:11) .

By the end of the plenary session, the B.P.P. seemed to be well on the way towards meeting its goal of producing a document which expressed the mass disenchantment of oppressed peoples in the United States. Despite governmental efforts to sabotage the convention, over 10,000 more people attended than had pre-registered as delegates. The convention succeeded in providing a forum for many viewpoints and issues. It also produced a wide range of proposals which were to be ratified in the following session to be held in Washington, D.C.

The final session held in November of 1970, in Washington, D.C., was far less successful. There were

fewer people who attended and much disagreement during the meetings. The major disruption, however, was the fact that on the opening day of the session the host facility, Howard University, rescinded its agreement to house the participants. This left the Party scrambling to provide housing and other facilities. The weekend conference turned out to be full of confusion and disagreements. Without secure workshop locations many people were unable to continue the work from the previous workshops (The Black Panther, 11/28/70).

By the end of the convention, the proposals which were developed earlier were never publicly discussed or voted upon; in fact, there were no final resolutions and no new Constitution was written.

The B.P.P. encountered many obstacles in organizing from the very outset. In October, the coordinator for the entire Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention, Audrea Jones, attempted to secure the Washington, D.C. Armory as the main site for the November session. After much run around and negotiations on the dates, Jones was told that the Armory was no longer being rented for political meetings and therefore could not be leased to the B.P.P. Howard University, which hosted a planning session in August, was also reluctant to commit itself to providing space.

Many B.P.P. members believed that much of the difficulties encountered in securing space for the D.C. session was due to pressure put on by the F.B.I. (The Black Panther, 11/28/70). Although there is no definitive proof to these allegations, much of the evidence uncovered since confirms that this was consistent with the method of operation of the F.B.I.

The F.B.I. and local police agencies made it a practice to visit landlords of dwellings rented or prospectively rented by militant organization such as the B.P.P. (O'Reilly, 1989:316). Even the House Committee on Internal Security interviewed and subpoenaed church officials who opened their facilities to the B.P.P.

The only hard evidence of governmental sabotage was an F.B.I. internal memo, proposing the distribution of a fictitious letter criticizing the manner in which the Party handled the convention (Churchill, 1988:42).

CHAPTER 6

STUDENTS AND THE PARTY

The B.P.P. was born on the campus of Merritt College in Oakland, California. It was through the Afro-American Students Association that Newton and Seale began to work within the Oakland Afrikan American community. While the B.P.P. was still in its local stage, the members in San Francisco began to establish a working relation with students attending San Francisco State College (S.F.S.). In the Fall of 1967 a number of B.P.P. members enrolled at S.F.S. Landon Williams, (who went on to become a Field Marshal), stated that these B.P.P. members formed what at the time was to be the student wing of the B.P.P. (L. Williams Interview July 1989). These student/B.P.P. members worked in the Black Students Union in organizing and struggling for increased Afrikan American presence on campus.

B.P.P. members like Robert Webb, 'Speedy', Landon Williams, Donald Cox and George Murray all worked with the B.S.U. at San Francisco State. George Murray, who was the Minister of Education of the B.P.P., was also a Sociology instructor at S.F.S. It was the university's firing of him that prompted the massive San Francisco State strike which shut down the campus for the entire year.

The demands of the strikers at S.F.S were:

1. That all Black Studies courses being taught through various other departments be immediately made part of the Black Studies department, and that all the instructors in this department receive full time pay.
2. That Dr. Nathan Hare, Chairman of the Black Studies Department, receive a full professorship and a comparable salary according to his qualifications.
3. That there be a Department of Black Studies which would grant a Bachelor's Degree in Black Studies; that the Black Studies Department, the Chairman, Faculty, and staff have the sole power to hire faculty and control and determine the destiny of the department.
4. That all unused slots for black students from Fall 1968 under the Special Admissions Program be filled in Spring 1969.
5. That all black students applying for entrance be admitted in Fall 1969.
6. That twenty (20) full-time teaching positions be allocated to the Department of Black Studies.
7. That Dr. Helen Bedesem be replaced from the position of Financial Aid Officer, and that a black person be hired to direct it, and that Third World people have the power to determine how the office would be administered.

8. That no disciplinary action be administered in any way to any students, workers, teachers, or administrators during and after the strike as a consequence of their participation in the strike.
9. That the California State College Trustees not be allowed to dissolve the black programs on or off the San Francisco State College campus.
10. That George Murray retain his teaching position on campus for the 1968-69 academic year (Johnson, 1974:79).

The San Francisco State student strike was one of the first major militant Afrikan American led strikes to sweep across the nation in the late 1960's and early 1970's. At S.F.S., the police were called out to break the strike. Numerous students were injured, and the climate became increasing hostile and violent (Hare, 1972). Students' responses to the violence of the state were at times militant and violent. Nathan Hare, the chairperson of the Black Studies program, characterized some of the motives and tactics employed by some of the students at S.F.S. college:

But, as in the case of the most revolutionary action, the strike was launched initially by a minority of individuals who apparently articulated the latent needs, the powerlessness, the hopes, of the oppressed group at large ... Black students at San Francisco State College generally shunned the politics of ultra-democracy as a guiding principle, substituting 'democratic centralism'

instead. Their major strategy was the 'war of the flea,' scattered guerrilla action which in the strike as a whole, included some twenty bombings (Hare, 1972:43).

The B.P.P. members' role in initiating the S.F.S. strike has not been given much publicity by those writing on the strike. M. Karenga in his book Introduction To Black Studies, which has a comprehensive outline of the Afrikan American student struggles of the late 1960's, makes little or no mention of the B.P.P.'s involvement in the S.F.S. strike. Nathan Huggins who produced a report for the Ford Foundation in 1985 gives no account of the B.P.P.'s involvement (Huggins, 1985). Even Nathan Hale, the other faculty member whose reinstatement the students were demanding, and a major figure in the strike, failed to discuss the B.P.P. influence in his account (Journal of Black Studies, 1970:75). The only mention of B.P.P. involvement in most accounts has been the demand by the students for Murray's reinstatement.

One of the probable reasons for the omission of the B.P.P.'s role is the fact that the San Francisco State B.S.U. and the Oakland B.P.P. were formed around the same time, Fall 1966 (Johnson, 1974). The B.P.P. members who functioned in San Francisco were just beginning to be politically active and therefore were not yet identified as Panthers.

But as Landon Williams stated in a 1989 interview,

many of the founders of the B.S.U. and the San Francisco B.P.P. come from the same political groupings and they were interchangeable. There were some people who worked on campuses and others who worked in the community, but they all considered themselves members of the B.P.P. Those B.P.P. members who worked with Murray at S.F.S. publicly identified themselves as B.S.U., while those working with Donald Cox in the community identified themselves as Panthers. This was not to hide membership but simply because the Party was not well known in S.F. (Landon Williams, 1989).

In 1967 and 1968, The Black Panther newspaper was full of articles and announcements of joint B.P.P./B.S.U. meetings and the call for the reinstatement of George Murray (The Black Panther, 12/21/68:3).

The Party was in its embryonic stage during the development of the B.S.U. and S.F.S strike. Those Party members involved in organizing in S.F.S. were working with the other students and faculty. The Party did not initiate the B.S.U., nor were members directed by leadership to join the B.S.U. The Party was not highly organized or strong at the time. Those who functioned at S.F.S. worked in coalition with the various other elements in the B.S.U.

The method of organizing by the B.P.P./B.S.U. members differed from the style used in the community where members wore uniforms and made it a point of identifying themselves as B.P.P. members.

Many B.P.P. members were either high school or college students. In the period before 1969, members did extensive work in their schools. In N.Y.C., the Brooklyn

chapter worked with the Brownsville and Bedford Stuyvesant communities around community control and Black studies (Chevigny, 1972; McCreary Interview, 1989). The first meeting place for the NY chapter was provided by the Long Island University, Brooklyn campus's B.S.U. (Joseph Interview, 1988).

In Des Moines, Iowa and Omaha, Nebraska, the B.P.P. did extensive speaking on regional college campuses, as well as guest speaking at local high schools.

In Los Angeles, at the time they were killed, Bunchy Carter and John Huggins were working with the Afrikan American students at U.C.L.A. to form a Black studies program (see chapter 12).

As the Party grew and its own programs took higher priority the relationship between the B.P.P. and student activists changed. The Party still maintained contact with the student movement and did organizational work. This work, however, began to focus on non-school issues. One of the prime issues was the defense of imprisoned Panthers.

By mid-1969 the Party was on the defensive. Most of its activities were either geared towards generating support in light of the government's campaign, or promoting their own initiated programs and activities. One contributing factor to the increased lack of concern for campus politics was that the Party became more and more involved in organizing within the communities.

For many student/members, Party work became more and more a priority and school became less important. When sixteen year old Boston and New Haven B.P.P. Gary Bumpus stopped going to school the local leadership encouraged him to return. Bumpus' reaction was; 'I don't have time to go to school, I'm too busy struggling for the people' (Gary Bumpus Interview, 1988). Fifteen year old Lt. of Information of Harlem Branch, Mark Holder was expelled from the elite Stuyvesant High School for organizing students. Mark Holder (Holder Interview, 1989), Assata Shakur (Shakur, 1987), and Syfia Bukuri (Bukuri Interview, 1988), both began their affiliation with the Party through student organizations and left college to join the B.P.P.

Student organizing did not end with the increase of Party work; rather, it took the form of Party initiated and directed activities. As mentioned before, the mobilization of students in defense of imprisoned members took priority. The biggest mobilization took place in New Haven, CT at Yale University.

The Party mounted a series of rallies, demonstrations, moratoria, and teach-ins around the trial of Bobby Seale and the members of the New Haven 9. Many of the students in this mobilization effort were European Americans.

At Yale University a coalition of faculty and student organizations such as S.D.S. and various B.S.U.'s mobilized

students to work in New Haven during the trial. In April 1970 they organized a class boycott, calling for the release of Seale and the B.P.P. members incarcerated in New Haven. The boycott resulted in the closing of 95% of the university classes. The boycott was so effective that the various athletic programs had to be cancelled due to student/athlete support (The Black Panther, 5/2/70:5).

Huey Newton and much of the central staff had also converged upon New Haven in 1970. Newton spoke at numerous rallies and demonstrations. One celebrated event was the fall dialogue between Newton and the French anarchist figure Jean Genet (reference). Newton and Genet engaged in dialogue at Yale University over two day span. They discussed issues such as dialectical materialism, socialism, Hegel, Marx, and other European philosophers. The Black Panther newspaper gave these sessions much coverage, but many students, community, and rank-and-file Panther members were alienated by such discussions (Malika Adams, 1988; Mark Holder, 1989; interviews).

The methods, issues, and style of organizing Afrikan American and other third world students differed from those towards European American students. The Party called for and participated in a number of Afrikan American and 'Revolutionary' student conferences. Much of this work was done on a local and regional basis. Speeches and articles were written on the B.P.P.'s view of the student's role in

the struggle. Bobby Seale (The Black Scholar, 12/69:4), Eldridge Cleaver (Post-Prison Writings, 1969:6), and NY 21 Afani Shakur (The Black Panther, 5/19/70:6), among others all called for Afrikan American students to work in the community.

Local and regional B.P.P. members worked with Afrikan American students throughout the country. They worked with groups such as the athletes at Sacramento State College (The Black Panther, 3/15/70:8), the B.S.U. at Stanford University, Norfolk State, VA (The Black Panther, 5/9/70:5), and Jackson State College in the aftermath of the (1970) killing of two students (The Black Panther, 5/31/70:7).

The New York Chapter of the B.P.P. and students at Fordham University worked to develop "free university classes on topics that pertain to the people's struggle." These classes were taught by members of the B.P.P. They were open to the public and offered university credit (The Black Panther, 6/20/70:19). Also in N.Y. the Party worked with students at Adelphi University to develop a Panther communication and information service (The Black Panther, 6/20/70).

One major effort organized with Afrikan American students was the May 1970 'Black Student Revolutionary Conference', held in New Haven. At this conference hosted by the B.S.U. at Yale University, national and regional

B.P.P. leaders discussed with students issues such as "nationalism vs. cultural nationalism, national 'salvation and self-defense, revolutionary art, revolutionary action on campus and in the community and freeing political prisoners.' Films on campus strikes, interviews with imprisoned B.P.P. leaders, and on revolutions in the third world were shown. The famous Afrikan American classical musician (Jazz) Pharroh Sanders provided the entertainment (The Black Panther, 5/6/70:23).

On the final day of the conference over 30,000 students and community supporters demonstrated on the New Haven green in support of the New Haven 9 and the B.P.P. (The Black Panther, 10/31/70).

Clearly, the Party held a support base with both European American and third world students (particularly Afrikan Americans). Local, regional, and national efforts to gain support and organize students were successful. Many students had some connection with either high school or college, but the increased demands of community work caused many members to drift away from school and campus politics. The one continuing effort by B.P.P. chapters was the struggle over racist attacks within local campuses. The Black Panther newspaper published many articles exposing political and physical attacks on Black students.

B.P.P. students and their supporters encountered quite a few problems with teachers and administrators.

This was especially true for high schools. Yet, the young B.P.P. members and their supporters consistently confronted school officials on their political views and teaching. In a Long Island high school, a group of B.P.P. supporters confronted a teacher who was telling his class that the Party was hired by the government to spy on other Afrikan American groups (The Black Panther, 3/7/70:9). In a Vallejo, California high school an Afrikan American counselor was confronted by B.P.P. student supporters who demanded she explain her derogatory statement that Panther leaders deserved to be in jail (The Black Panther, 1/17/70:8).

In Mt. Vernon, N.Y., the local police stationed two plainclothes officers in the high school, to take pictures and keep an eye on B.P.P. activities (The Black Panther, 2/28/70). High school Party members wrote articles in the Party paper on the conditions and political work in their local schools.

CHAPTER 7

PRISONERS AND PRISONS

The B.P.P. came into contact with the American correctional system from the outset. Newton, Seale, and other founding party members were arrested frequently for their activities. The first prison sentences as a consequence of Party were given to Bobby Seale and the others who were convicted for the Sacramento incident. From May 1968, B.P.P. members were arrested and imprisoned almost regularly. The fact that the B.P.P. became involved with prison and prisoner work is directly related to its own predicament. From October 28, 1967 on when Newton was shot and arrested, the B.P.P. was consequently involved in prisoner support work, simply because of the fact that its membership were increasingly becoming prisoners.

Point Number eight of the Party's ten point program and platform stated: "We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county, and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people, should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial" (Foner, 1970:3).

The Deputy Minister of Information for the N.Y. chapter stated;

Prisons are really an extension of our communities. We have people who are forced at

gun point to live behind concrete and steel. Others of us, in what we ordinary think of as the community, live at gun point again in almost the same conditions" (Heath, 1976:274).

The Party placed prisoners into two categories; one was the prisoner of circumstances. This encompasses persons imprisoned as a result of committing a criminal act. The party believed that the majority of black people who committed crimes did so out of economic necessity. They also believed that the United States judicial system was completely racist and therefore; "The oppressed had no rights the oppressor was bound to respect."

Since the American legal system was not even following its own rules and regulations when it came to Afrikan Americans, the system had no right to confine any Afrikan American regardless of his/her crime.

Persons who were imprisoned for their political activities made up the B.P.P.'s second category of prisoners; these prisoners were called political prisoners. It was this category that B.P.P. members fell. Political activists are never imprisoned on charges of political activities, but rather on criminal charges. In the case of the B.P.P., the Party maintained that most of the major charges against its members were fabricated by various governmental agencies.

The fact is, F.B.I. had targeted the Black Panther Party for 'disruption and neutralization, solely based on

the Bureau perception of the Party as a 'Black Nationalist hate group' (Churchill, 1988; O'Reilly, 1989).

The growth of the B.P.P. was directly related to the Party's efforts to free Huey Newton. With the national growth of the Party came the creation of local 'political prisoners.' In New York 21 B.P.P. leaders were charged with a wide range of criminal offenses. In New Haven, Conn. there were 9 B.P.P. leaders held on charges of murder. In Chicago occurred the trial of National Chairman Bobby Seale where he was bound and gagged in the courtroom. In Southern California, there were the various cases and arrests of Elmer Geronimo Pratt (for details see Chapter 12).

The local chapters and branches were all involved in what was described as prisoner defense work. The bulk of these activities consisted of raising funds for bail and legal fees and expenses. Money was raised through donations and the sale of posters, buttons, and pamphlets. Donations were usually collected at rallies and speaking engagements.

The B.P.P. staged many massive rallies to draw support for its political prisoners. Aside from the April 1967 'Free Huey' rally in Oakland, there was an April 21, 1970 march/rally which took place in midtown Manhattan; over 50,000 people demonstrated in support of the N.Y. 21.

In New Haven over 30,000 people gathered on the town green in support of imprisoned Panthers.

Most local leaders spent time talking with a wide variety of people in an attempt to raise legal funds. Panthers attended wealthy European-American parties in order to obtain funds (Shakur, 1987:224). They also spoke at churches, high schools, and colleges in their attempt to generate support of their imprisoned members.

As Party members increasingly spent time in prison the Party became more knowledgeable about and were sensitive towards the prison system and prisoners in general. Numerous articles were written for the Party paper on the prison system and the inhuman treatment of prisoners.

The Party's work around prisons and prisoners was not confined to fund raising and education. As much work as the B.P.P. did around prisoner defense work was equaled if not surpassed by the organizing and education done behind the walls. Those members incarcerated continued their organizing activities while in prison. The Black Panther newspaper was a major organizing tool within many prisons and jails. This is illustrated by the numerous favorable letters from prisons which appeared in the paper (The Black Panther, 12/26/70:5). Another indication of the support and influence the B.P.P. had with many prisoners was the fact that when the prisoners at New York's Attica prison

staged a massive rebellion in 1971, Bobby Seale, Chairman of the B.P.P. among others, was flown to the facility at the request of the prisoners in order to negotiate with the prison authorities.

During the summer of 1970, the New York City jails erupted in rebellions (The Black Panther, 10/10/70:10). With the N.Y. 21 in the various jails around the city, they were responsible for much of the organizing and coordination of these rebellions. Lumumba Shakur and Kwando Kinshahasa (both NY 21 members) were indicted for planning and leading the coordinated revolt (The Black Panther, 12/19/70:3).

The 1970 unrest within the NYC jails was due in large part to the massive overcrowding of the facilities, inhuman treatment by the guards, as well as poor overall conditions. As a result of the uprisings, the major jail in Manhattan was ordered closed by the courts due to overcrowding (NY Times, 8/5/70).

In San Quentin Prison, on the North side of the San Francisco Bay Area, the B.P.P. presence was such that by late 1970 there was a San Quentin branch of the B.P.P. (The Black Panther, 3/20/71). The San Quentin Branch was the only documented prison branch of the Party, but other correctional facilities had B.P.P. organizing activities. In fact it was not uncommon for imprisoned B.P.P. members to recruit from behind the prison walls. When these new

recruits were released from prison they would officially join the Party.

What made San Quentin unique was its proximity to the B.P.P.'s center of operation, the Oakland/S.F./Bay Area. Another major factor in the development of the San Quentin Branch was the presence of George Jackson. A longtime prison activist/leader, philosopher and writer, Jackson became a member of the B.P.P. during 1970, but his membership was not made public until after he was killed by prison guards on August 1970. Jackson had a working relationship with the B.P.P. for over two years before he clandestinely joined. Subsequently he held rank of Field Marshal (The Black Panther, 2/7/71:A).

Like the Minister of Information E. Cleaver, Jackson obtained much publicity for writing and publishing a best-selling book about prisons and prison life. By the time Jackson's book, Soledad Brother The Prison Letters of George Jackson, was published he faced the death penalty for allegedly killing a prison guard. Jackson's ensuing trial on murder charges became a major political case, particularly in California. Many organizations rallied around Jackson and the other members of what were called the Soledad Brothers (named after Soledad prison where the killings were to have taken place).

Philosophy professor, activist, and former member of the B.P.P., Angela Davis was one of the key figures in the

non-B.P.P. support for the Soledad Brothers. Due to her closeness to Jackson and his family, Davis was implicated in a failed attempt by Jonathan Jackson -- George's younger brother -- at violently forcing the government to release George.

Comrade George, as he was known in prison, was widely respected by his fellow prisoners both in San Quentin and among prisoners in general. Jackson's support of the Black Panther Party before he joined resulted in an increase of support and participation by prisoners nationwide. At the memorial service following Jackson's death, Huey Newton wrote:

When I went to prison in 1967 I met George. Not physically, but through his ideas, his thoughts and words ... George was a legendary figure throughout the prison system, where he spent most of his life. I met George through his spirit. Shortly after learning about him I got word through the prison grapevine that he wanted to join the Black Panther Party ... He was put in charge of prison recruiting, and was asked to go on with his life as a revolutionary example ... (Jackson, 1972:194).

Shortly after Jackson was killed by prison guards, (see Chapter 12) his second book, Blood In My Eye, was published. This book contained a statement of Jackson's philosophy of Afrikan American Communism, and his theories of the 'Black communist urban guerilla'. Jackson was one of the leading figures of the early 1970's in the ranks of Afrikan American supporters of armed struggle as an

integral part of the Afrikan American liberation struggle.

Quoting from his second book;

We must accept the eventuality of bringing the U.S.A. to its knees; accept the closing off of critical sections of the city with barbed wire, armored pig carriers crisscrossing the streets, soldiers everywhere, tommy guns pointed at stomach level, smoke curling black against the daylight sky, the smell of cordite, house-to-house searches, doors being kicked in, the commonness of death (Jackson, 1972:1).

After ten to fifteen generations of laboring on a subsistence level, after a hundred and forty years of political agitation and education, we grow impatient not that we fail to understand the risks and complexities of antiestablishment warfare. We simply want to live" (Jackson, 1972:12).

Many members of the B.P.P. regarded Jackson as an eloquent advocate of the utilization of armed struggle and Afrikan American communist theory. Aside from the numerous articles on and by Jackson, his book was widely studied and quoted by the rank and file membership.

Not since the 1950's and early 1960's when the Nation of Islam and Malcolm X worked intensely to recruit A.A. prisoners had the prison population attracted so much attention by a political movement or organization. The earlier civil rights movement shied away from people with criminal records. In fact, those who planned and organized the Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott of 1955-1956, refused to use a former convict as the test case. They waited until the 'respectable' Rosa Parks personally challenged

the city busing regulations before bring their law suit (Raines, 1977:40) .

The Party adhered to Malcolm X's position of prisons and prisoners when he stated: "Don't be shocked when I say I was in prison, we all are in prison ... For the black, America is prison ..." (The Ballot or the Bullet:Recording) .

George Jackson expressed similar sentiments when he wrote: "Blackmen born in the U.S. and fortunate enough to live past the age of eighteen are conditioned to accept the inevitability of prison. For most of us, it simply looms as the next phase in a sequence of humiliations" (Jackson, 1970:9) .

In addition to the political position of the Party concerning the U.S. criminal justice system, many of the target population of the B.P.P. were former prisoners. In fact, a considerable percentage of the initial members had some experience behind bars. Unlike the early members of S.N.C.C. and Southern Christian Leadership Conference (S.C.L.C.), the jailing of B.P.P. members for their political activities was not their first experience with jail or prison.

Eldridge Cleaver had been a best selling prison writer before joining the Party. His book Soul on Ice (which he wrote prior to joining the Party) is an

autobiography and a critique of the social development of the oppressed mentality.

Bunchy Carter, the organizer of the Southern California Chapter, was a former prison-mate of Cleaver's. Even Newton and Seale had run-ins with the law. Newton was on parole when he and Seale founded the Party. Seale, on the other hand, served time in the stockade while he was in the armed forces (Seale 1970).

The Party's relations with prisoners and former prisoners were based upon their personal backgrounds and experiences with the criminal justice system. Another and even more important factor was that it was precisely those such as prisoners who occupied the lowest positions in society that the Party was interested in organizing.

The Party viewed prison as maximum security and life in racist American society as minimum security. Prisoners represented a microcosm of the treatment and status of Afrikan Americans and other Third World peoples in the U.S. The lack of rights and dehumanizing conditions of prison were in the view of the Party the true nature of American society and its institutions. With this attitude, the party had no reservations towards working with or around prisoners. They represented the oppressed disenfranchised populace, the wretched of the earth which the Party claimed as its constituency.

The Panthers' willingness to align themselves with prisoners and former prisoners was a very important aspect of their belief that the most oppressed populations within the U.S.A. were likeliest to rebel against the system and therefore should take a leadership role in the struggle.

This faith in the revolutionary nature of prisoners had a lot of support during the early 1970s. Throughout the nation prisoners were beginning to assert themselves and demand improvements in their conditions. The B.P.P. was one of the leading forces in its support of prisoners.

The Panthers were not the only or the first Afrikan American political group to work for prisoner rights. In the late '60s and early 70's they were, however, the leading organizational advocates for prisoners' rights.

During this period there were other small organizations such as Angela Davis and Jonathan Jackson's Soledad Brothers Defense Committee. They worked around George Jackson and the other prisoners accused with him. The defense committee organized around individual political prisoners but for the most part they fashioned their operations after the B.P.P.'s examples. Jackson himself had recognized the B.P.P. as the primary representative organization for his defense (The Black Panther, 2/7/71).

Aside from the political stance on prisoners and their organizing efforts, the B.P.P. also developed a few programs to service both the community and prisoners.

In many chapters, the rank and file was required to write at least one prisoner per week. This practice not only allowed the imprisoned members to gain information on the changing events and conditions, and raise their spirits, but it also enabled the B.P.P. rank and file to develop a relationship with those imprisoned.

The practice of writing a political prisoner was an important activity in locations such as New York where a major portion of the leadership was in jail. The New York 21 developed their rapport with the new membership through letter writing. When some of the NY 21 were released they had a certain personal perspective of the rank and file (Joseph, 1988; Holder, 1989; Interviews).

This practice allowed the rank and file to learn from the experiences and knowledge of the imprisoned leadership. It also allowed them to continue some of the work begun by the imprisoned members prior to their incarceration. This contact also allowed the rank and file to better conduct educational work around the defense of prisoners with whom they had a personal relationship.

This lively correspondence between local incarcerated leaders and the rank and file did not exist with the national leadership. Members might write to a Newton or Seale but few received replies. This was not due to the leadership's insensitivity. More likely, it was due to the volume of letters and issues confronting them. Regardless

of the reasoning, the interaction between local imprisoned leaders and rank and file forged a closer relationship on the local level. It also eliminated the hero worship which was evident towards the national leadership.

In Chicago Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton was arrested numerous times during 1969. In that year he was imprisoned for stealing ice cream from an ice cream truck, and sentenced to two years in jail (The Chicago Tribune, 12/12/69:Sec 1-3). While Hampton was incarcerated, the Chicago branch organized a Peoples' tribunal. Many prominent Afrikan Americans and progressive European Americans in Chicago participated in the tribunal. Dr. Charles Hurst, president of Malcolm X College, in Chicago agreed to preside over it (Clark, 1972:11). The tribunal was filmed and broadcast on Public Broadcasting System affiliates throughout the nation.

During these activities many community people testified to the work and character of Hampton. Hampton was subsequently acquitted by the tribunal, but more importantly the magnitude of support for Hampton was clearly demonstrated.

These are just two examples of local rank and file efforts around their imprisoned local leaders. The point here is that many chapters were thereby able to maintain contact between themselves and their imprisoned leaders, and between such leaders and the community.

Prison Visitor Buses

In 1970, numerous chapters began implementing a prisoner support program directed towards non-political prisoners and their families. This program consisted of providing buses for relatives to visit prisoners. In the San Francisco/Oakland Bay Area, the Party established weekend bus trips to San Quentin Prison, with pick ups in all the cities in the Bay Area. In May of 1970 the Southern California Chapter also established a bus program for families with relatives in Soledad prison. On the six hour ride, the Party provided snacks on the way and dinner on the return trip (The Black Panther, 5/19/70:4). The Party also had busing programs in Chicago, Toledo, Ohio, Boston, and Washington State (The Black Panther, 1/9/70:13; 1/16/70:6; 8/21/70:6; 11/21/70:2).

A Panther who participated in the Soledad program wrote:

The importance of all of this is that the walls of Soledad, Folsom, Quentin -- any of these ... contain some of the most beautiful and strongest Black Men in Babylon and that we were fortunate enough to serve them and their families ... (The Black Panther, 5/19/70:4).

Although there is no way to judge the extent of this program, the Party's commitment to prisoners of circumstance as well as political prisoners was significant.

CHAPTER 8

INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Black Panther Party's International Bureau

When Eldridge Cleaver fled the United States in 1969 to avoid being sent back to prison, he was granted limited political asylum by the Cuban government (Foner, 1970:108). While in Cuba, Cleaver continued to write for The Black Panther. He also began to attend meetings, conferences, and festivals where he met many representatives of Third World liberation movements (The Black Panther, 8/23/70:15). One of the agreements between Cleaver and the Cuban government was that he curtail his political activities so as to not bring undue attention to Cuba.

In Cuba, a number of Black Panthers joined Cleaver. Many like him were fleeing the U.S. and long prison terms. The exact number and names of these individuals are unavailable due to the continuing possibility of prosecution.

A number of these individuals had come to Cuba by highjacking U.S. airplanes and commandeering them to Cuba. These highjackings were not necessarily condoned by the B.P.P. leadership, but rather were the last resort of many who were being hunted by the U.S. government. For the

most part the three or four highjackings attributed to B.P.P. members were conducted as individual acts.

B.P.P. members in Cuba had considerable difficulty with the Cuban government. Governmental restrictions placed on them inhibited the Panthers from establishing the international contacts they sought.

One major complaint by the Panthers regarded the policy of the Cuban government requiring all highjackers to be confined on a prison farm for a certain length of time. The Cubans, on the other hand, felt they had to be extremely careful in assisting these B.P.P. members. The government was willing to offer asylum but was unwilling to have Cuba become a base of operation for fugitive Party members.

By August 1969, the B.P.P. members left Cuba and went to Algeria. The Algerian government not only extended political asylum but also gave Panthers official liberation movement status. This meant that the Algerian government was recognizing the B.P.P. as the sole representative of the Afrikan American liberation struggle. This placed the B.P.P. in Algeria on the same level as the Afrikan National Congress (A.N.C.) of South Afrika and the Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O.). With this status the B.P.P. was given a large chateau and a budget to operate its office. With this support and extended resources the B.P.P. began organizing the International Bureau in

Algiers, Algeria. The stated goal of the International Bureau was to inform the world of the plight of Afrikan Americans, to explain the purpose of the B.P.P., and to forge unity with other liberation movements and progressive nations (The Black Panther, 9/26/70:16).

By 1970, Field Marshal Donald Cox, Communication Secretary K. Cleaver, N.Y. 21 fugitives, and Panther leader Saku Odiga were all operating out of the International Bureau.

Officials of the International Bureau attended the 1970 Organization of Afrikan Unity conference held in Algeria. At the conference the B.P.P. was welcomed by many governments and all liberation movements (The Black Panther, 8/23/70).

During the summer of 1970, the International Bureau put on a Panther Festival which displayed photos and literature of the B.P.P. Through this exhibition many Algerians and other Afrikans in Algeria were able to gain information on the Black Panther Party.

Through their contacts with various nations, members of the B.P.P. traveled throughout the Third World developing ties and support. The governments of North Korea, North Vietnam, China, and numerous socialist Afrikan countries, such as Congo-Brazzaville invited the Party to visit (The Black Panther, 10/3/70:4).

The Black Panther Party and Vietnam

The first international work of the B.P.P. was initiated by Bobby Seale speaking at the 1969 World Peace Conference in Montreal, Canada. Seale called for a declaration condemning United States imperialism and proclaimed support for the North Vietnam government and the National Liberation Front.

From its beginnings, the Black Panther Party consistently condemned the United States' military involvement in Vietnam. As early as 1967, members were speaking at anti-war rallies and demonstrations (The Black Panther, 1/16/70:7). Unlike many antiwar groups of the late 1960's and early 1970's, the B.P.P. did not show its support merely by speaking at rallies. The Party's program around the war in Vietnam was multifaceted. First, the Party consistently pointed out parallels between U.S. behavior in Vietnam and its behavior in Afrikan American and other Third World domestic communities. Second, the Party called on all Afrikan Americans to refuse to serve in the armed forces and for those in Vietnam to desert. In an open letter to 'My Black Brothers in Vietnam', Eldridge Cleaver wrote:

We appeal to you Brothers to come to the aid of your people. Either quit the army now, or start destroying it from the inside ... Stop killing Vietnamese people ... You have a duty to humanity as well as to your own people not to be used as murderous tools by racist pigs to oppress the people (Heath, 1976:256).

On many Armed forces bases, B.P.P. members or supporters attempted to organize.

In one celebrated incident an Afrikan American G.I. deserted from Vietnam duty, appeared in Stockholm, Sweden and asked to be turned over to the Black Panther Party's International Bureau. He was subsequently granted political asylum in Algeria (The Black Panther, 9/26/70).

One program that the B.P.P. developed in 1969 was the exchange of imprisoned Panthers (Political Prisoners) for captured United States Soldiers in Vietnam (Prisoners of War). On a trip to Vietnam members of the International Bureau had extensive negotiations with the North Vietnam government and the National Liberation Front (N.L.F.) of South Vietnam. In these talks the Vietnamese agreed to exchange their P.O.W.s for captured Black Panther members (The Black Panther, 11/22/69:3).

B.P.P. 'Troops' to fight in Vietnam

Many B.P.P. members and supporters were bewildered and confused when, within a month of his release from prison in 1970, Newton wrote a statement to The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, committing B.P.P. members to fight in Vietnam (Heath, 1976:170). This move by Newton was highly inconsistent with the position and practice of the Party. The Party's position on the Vietnam war was "... that the most effective way we can aid our

Vietnamese brothers and sisters is to destroy imperialism from the inside, attack it where it breeds" (Foner, 1970:220).

In a statement by the Revolutionary Provisional Government forces of South Vietnam the Vietnam Deputy Commander declared solidarity with the B.P.P. and the Afrikan American liberation movement;

At present, the struggles in the United States or on the SVN battlefields, are both making positive contributions for the national liberation and safeguarding the world peace. Therefore, your persistent and ever-developing struggle is the most active support to our resistance ... (Heath, 1976:266).

The response by the Vietnamese Liberation Front was approved by many Panthers because it confirmed their position that each people should organize within their own communities. For much of the rank and file, fighting abroad was absurd. Party members, particularly the rank and file, had a tremendous sense of devotion towards the Afrikan American community. This is evidenced by the many members who choose to go into hiding rather than join those in the International Bureau (Holder, 1989; Bumpus, 1988; Interviews).

The patriotic or 'homeboy' attitude of the rank and file contributed to the rank and file's allegiance to struggle within the borders of the United States.

While people and organizations criticized Newton for his call to arms, most members of the B.P.P. ignored this

gesture. After all, this was three weeks after Johnathan Jackson and three political prisoners were killed in the Marin County escape attempt. If party members were going to fight a war, they were more inclined to heed the words spoken by Newton at J. Jackson's funeral when he stated:

We are not alone. We have allies everywhere. We find comrades wherever in the world we hear the oppressor's whip. People all over the world are rising up. The high tide of revolution is about to sweep the shores of America ... (The Black Panther, 8/21/70:A).

No, the words of Newton were not consistent with the B.P.P. point of view. For much of the rank and file fighting abroad was absurd. Party members, especially the rank and file were totally committed to struggling with and for Afrikan Americans in the United States. This is not to say that the rank and file were isolationist; rather, it was an outgrowth of their commitment to a people that they regarded as forgotten by the rest of the world.

The B.P.P. showed its support for other liberation struggles by connecting them to the struggle of Afrikan Americans. Activities like the prisoner-exchange program which directly related to the Afrikan American community were more consistent with the thinking of most B.P.P. members.

Although the B.P.P. was not inclined to participate in exclusively support work for other movements they were not against others forming Panther-support groups.

Similar to their practice with domestic groups Party leaders tended to encourage other Third world peoples to organize groups which would struggle within their own conditions and circumstances. In places such as England and Barbados, people of Afrikan descent organized groups which were patterned after the B.P.P.

In European countries such as Sweden, West Germany, France, and Belgium people formed Panther support committees which raised funds and attempted to apply pressures on their governments to condemn the treatment of the B.P.P. in particular and the conditions of Afrikan Americans in general (The Black Panther, 1/23/71:4).

CHAPTER 9

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF A BLACK PANTHER

In this chapter I hope to illustrate the daily activities of the rank and file as well as their motivations and feeling towards the work of the Party. Through an hour-by-hour account of rank and file activities, the reader will be exposed to the daily problems encountered and the solutions created. What were the perceptions and attitudes of members concerning the community in which they worked? What were their feelings about police harassment? Did they fear being arrested or even killed?

Since the Party stressed collectivism and sacrifice of one's self for the struggle and because the Party always forbade members from travelling alone, this will be a day in the life of a B.P.P. team. Because the Party was developed and built by both men and women this team will be comprised of a male and female.

The chapter will take the form of a collective journal of these two members' activities, reactions, attitudes, and feelings. The material used in this chapter will be drawn from statements by rank and file members. These statements have been extracted from testimony by former members before U.S. congressional committees,

passages from published interviews, as well as interviews with former Panthers conducted by this author in 1988 and 1989.

The narrative account is a composite of assertions of two rank and file members. Some time periods have been altered, but nonetheless the incidents involving B.P.P. members are genuine. The choice of particular incidents/activities will be based upon the frequency of their mention by B.P.P. members I interviewed, or are based on the importance of the specific activity to the program and philosophy of the B.P.P. in general.

Twymond Webb

Seventeen year old high school student does not attend school often because he thinks it is a waste of time. He lives with his mother, father, brothers and sisters but spends many nights at B.P.P. houses. Webb has been in the Party for about five months since joining in June, 1969.

He had been working with local B.P.P. members to organize the students around the establishment of an Afrikan American cultural center. During a Martin Luther King moratorium at his high school, Webb was arrested on riot charges. Until his arrest Webb had been reluctant to join because of his parents' fear for his safety. A couple

of months following his arrest Webb joined. His family protested but had come to accept the fact.

Webb was a member in good standing. He was considered by the local leadership as reliable and dedicated. They had their eye on him as possible leadership but felt he needed more political education. One main complaint about him was that he was a little too military- minded and needed to deepen his political understanding.

Webb's performance was good. He sold his quota of papers, could discuss articles in the paper, and had brought quite a few of his school buddies around the office. Webb was an active member of the B.S.U. in his school, but since joining the Party he held no official post. He did have quite a following in his school. A few of the students worked with the Party when they had time.

Sharon Shukar

Shukar is a 22 year old with two years of college. Her last job was as a secretary. She is certified by a temporary agency, and therefore can work when she wants to. She hates being a secretary but does not mind "temping" as long as she does not have a long term assignment. She is an exceptional typist.

Shukar joined the Party about a year earlier. She started working for them in a program, and then gradually increased her work until she joined.

Shukar's skills helped her advance to a point beyond the rank and file but not quite leadership. She is communication secretary within her branch. This means she is responsible for all reports from her branch which go to the state chapter. Since there is no information officer in her branch she is also responsible for all materials such as articles for The Black Panther which go to the regional Ministry of Information.

Shukar was one of the top officers in her branch until she took an unauthorized leave to visit her grandmother in Mississippi. Although the local leadership understood her desire to see her grandmother, they also felt it was an act of individualism since she did not go through proper channels. As punishment, Sharon was temporarily stripped of her rank and duties and put back into the field. This was to last for six weeks; the events in this section take place during the fourth week of her discipline.

A Day in the Lives of Two Black Panther Members

November 20, 1969

6:00 a.m.

The windup alarm clock awakes Sharon from her five hour sleep. She had been up until 1:00 a.m. correcting weekly reports, and choosing which articles to send to the ministry for next week's contribution by her branch. She gets out of bed without waking the other women who is sound asleep. Sharon knows the sister could use a couple of more hours of sleep, since when Sharon went to sleep this sister had not yet arrived home.

6:20 a.m.

It is dark and cold as Sharon peers out the fourth floor window of the dilapidated apartment building which housed a Panther 'crib'. Ten Party members live in the apartment on a consistent basis but there could be anywhere up to thirty people staying there depending on who's in town and needs a place to stay. Sharon searches for her coat, the one she bought last winter when she was pulling in a nice paycheck; it is still nice and warm and in good shape. It is about the only piece of her old wardrobe she did not donate to some comrade in need.

6:00 a.m.

Twymond is awakened by his mother. He jumps up, with his fists ready to defend himself. Realizing it's only his mother and not the jail guards who had beaten him last April, he says hello. Twymond has not seen his mother in a couple of days. He had been out until about 1:30 with some other Panthers. They were off night-target practicing. Although some of the other members with him were officers in the branch, night shooting was not a sanctioned activity. Twymond's mother informs him that she had been trying to contact him all evening. The F.B.I. had come to the neighbor's house. They showed a picture of Twymond and others. His mother expresses concern, but stops short of asking him to quit the Party. Twymond states that he would be O.K., and that the "fascist pigs" were only trying to scare her by coming by and harassing him.

The conversation with his mother caused Twymond to be behind schedule. If he was not dressed, out of the house, and at the church in 30 minutes, Sharon would be waiting in the cold since she had given him the keys the day before. Twymond dressed in a flash, kissed his mother, told her he would call that evening, and dashed out of the house.

7:15 a.m.

Sharon is standing in the doorway of the church. It has gotten light by now but it is freezing. The hawk is blowing and she is thinking why she ever gave this jive-ass the key. By 7:20 she starts to think maybe something happened to Twymond the night before. She knew he was going night shooting because she, too had been invited, but had to complete the reports. She thought about calling another comrade who had gone shooting to see what was up. She did not want to wake up Twymond's family. They were nice, she thought. She had met Ms. Webb on a few occasions, once at a Party function.

As Sharon approached the pay phone, Twymond jumped off the bus.

Before she could jump on his case, Twymond told her about the F.B.I. His face was beaming as he explained how the pigs were checking up on him.

Twymond was proud that the F.B.I. visited him, for it meant that he was doing his job. He was now officially a threat to the government, a revolutionary.

7:25 a.m.

Twymond and Sharon entered the church basement and began preparing breakfast. They are in a hurry since they have about 15 minutes before the first of the

23 children begin to arrive. Twymond sets the places and prepares cold cereal, juice, and milk while Sharon prepares the French toast and bacon.

7:45 a.m.

Ms. Johnson and her three children arrive. Twymond greets all four. He and Sharon are glad to see Ms. Johnson, especially since she always volunteers to help. As she assists Sharon, Twymond gets Tony 11, Jessica 9, and Toy 4, to help set the tables. Tony asks questions about a poster of Huey Newton and Bobby Seale with weapons. Tony wants to know why they have guns and does Twymond have a gun. Twymond explains that Newton and Seale are armed to protect the Black community from the racist murdering pigs. Tony again asks if Twymond had a gun. More children begin to arrive and Twymond tells Tony that they will talk some more later, and he greets the others. Jessica asks if they can sing some Panther songs. Toya says she wants to sing the Piggy Wiggy Song. (Piggy Wiggy, you got to go now onk onk bang bang ...) At this point Sharon interjects that the French toast is ready. She also suggests that they sing 'Give me that old time revolution'. (Give me that old time, revolution, if it was good enough for Malcolm then it's good enough for me').

8:30 a.m.

Sharon and Twymond are talking with the children about the F.B.I.'s visit to Twymond's house. One young girl wanted to know if Twymond lived with his mother and if he loved her. Tony said no 'he does not live with his mom, he is too old'. Twymond explained that he did live with his mother, and yes he did love his mother- he loved all the people, they loved all of them. Twymond went on to say that the B.P.P. loved all Black people. That was why they had the breakfast program. Toya asked, 'do you love me'? 'Of course I love you' Twymond responded as he picked Toya up and gave her a big hug.

8:45 a.m.

Sharon announces the time and tells the children to hurry up before they are late for school. Ms. Johnson is busy in the kitchen cleaning up.

8:49 a.m.

Two girls slowly enter the eating area from outside. Twymond approaches them and asks if they are hungry. He seats them at a table with unused plates, and dashes into the kitchen. There is no more French toast but he gets them some cereal, bacon, toast, milk, and juice. As Twymond serves the food he asks the girls why they came so late. They state that their mother didn't wake them up on time. Twymond

asks the girls if they wanted one of the other children to go by their house and get them in the morning? With this all the children shout, 'I'll go, I'll go, we know where they live.'

8:55 a.m.

Sharon signals Twymond to check the time.

Realizing that the church wants them out by 9:00 sharp, Twymond ushers the children's coats on with the help of Ms. Johnson.

As the children leave they call, 'All Power to the People'. Sharon and Twymond give a special good-bye to Ms. Johnson and rush to complete the clean up.

9:05 a.m.

Well, five minutes late, is not that bad Sharon thought as she and Twymond exited the church. As they walked towards the bus stop, Sharon turned to Twymond and asked 'aren't you going to school?' Twymond replied, 'No, I was expelled last week because I grabbed the gym teacher. He was pushing around this small Puerto Rican kid who didn't even speak English. The teacher was calling him names and shoving him because the kid did not know how to do push ups. The kid was in ninth grade. Well anyway, I walk by the gym and saw this and you know I had to do something so I pushed the teacher a couple of times and asked him if 'he liked how'd it feel'?

Man, that pig teacher almost pissed in his pants. But they expelled me. I've got an appointment at this hippy type school to see if they'll let me in. Shit, I wouldn't be going to school but when they busted me last year the pig judge said I had to remain in school. I guess the pigs think another year in school might indoctrinate me.

9:15 a.m.

The bus arrives and they both get on. A couple of stops away an old woman gets on. She is 10 cents short, and the bus driver wants to kick her off. Sharon is in the front of the bus and witnesses this. She asks the driver to give the sister some slack. The driver states that the woman must get off the bus. Sharon digs in her pocket and hands the woman a dime. In the meantime Sharon is yelling at the driver, calling him all kinds of racist pigs. She states that's why the community didn't want white drivers in their neighborhoods. They don't treat the people with respect. Many of the passengers move away from Sharon, when she begins to tell them not to be afraid to stand up for what is theirs. A couple of young men yell 'Right On' from the back of the bus. The driver tells Sharon if she doesn't sit down and be quiet he would call the police. Sharon goes off telling the driver he could call all the pigs in

the world, but she won't stop demanding respect for Black people. The driver mumbled something in his two-way radio about Panthers. The next stop was Sharon and Twymond's anyway so they got off.

Sharon stated how mad she was about the attitude of the driver to the older woman. 'That could have been our own mother, you know' Twymond states. 'see, now you know how I felt when that pig teacher was messing with that Puerto Rican.

9:25 a.m.

Sharon and Twymond enter the B.P.P. office.

Sharon "All power to the people. Hey, Ronnie, here are the weekly reports I finished, they need to be sent up to the ministry this morning."

As Sharon goes over the reports with Ronnie, Twymond reports to the Officer of the Day (OD), that the F.B.I. visited his house. The OD instructed him to make a detailed report of what happened.

10:00 a.m.

Both Sharon and Twymond finished their paper work and gathered 150 Panther papers each. They pressed the stacks of papers into shopping bags, then covered these bags with plastic in order to protect the papers from the rain. They discuss where they are going to sell papers. The O.D. reminds them that there is a meeting that evening. Sharon and Twymond

decided to sell papers outside the main hospital in the community. The paper has been out for five days and it is hard to make a sale. Most of the people who would buy the paper had already done it by then. Sharon and Twymond chose the hospital because there were a lot of Black professionals or as Sharon stated "bourgeoisie", who had the money to pay \$.25.

For both Twymond and Sharon going to the hospital is a compromise between selling papers at the local college and going door to door in the projects. If they went to the college they were assured that the liberal and radical students would buy up the paper. But as Twymond put it, 'those whites buy up the paper but they don't give two shits for the people.'

The projects were rewarding, going door to door explaining to the elderly, the single parents, and anyone else who was around, about the programs of the Party. Working in the 'Colony' was what the Party was about and was the reason these two joined. They realized that the party needed funds and the paper was the chief revenue. They also felt pressured by the OD to sell as many papers as they could. Going onto the campus would be materially profitable but it would also be deserting the colony.

10:10 a.m .

As they walk the mile and a half to the hospital, they talk with the people as they go. Most on the street are unemployed and many are homeless. Sharon approaches one brother who looks like he has had a steady diet of alcohol for the last ten years. He is sprawled out on the ground, his clothes are old and falling off him. Sharon says; 'Hey, brother, are you alright? Do you need some help? This is no place for you, on the ground.' The man does not respond and Sharon walks away feeling angry and disgusted with the conditions under which Blacks lived.

A few blocks away, police cars with sirens blaring, screech to a halt a couple of yards away from them, cops jump out and rush into an apartment building. As a crowd gathers, the two Panthers begin to address the crowd about the role of police in their community. "You see how the pigs run rampant in our community? We should not allow them to do as they please." As Sharon continues verbally attacking the police, the three cops leave the building with a young man in handcuffs. They are hitting the man on his legs to encourage him to move faster. With this, both Sharon and Twymond directed their attention and comments towards the police and the man in cuffs.

Twymond called to the man: "They can't do that to you, you have rights ..." Sharon was screaming at the police; "You pigs don't be hitting on that man. You don't have the right to just brutalize black people because you want to." Others in the crowd join in, calling the police pigs and demanding that they stop hitting the man.

Once the police cars left, the two Panthers continued to talk with the crowd about police brutality.

Twymond opened one of the Panther papers and began reading from point number 7 of the ten point program and platform. Two or three people buy papers. Two sisters approach Sharon and tell her that they have been thinking of joining the Party. She invites them to a community meeting and tells them about the free breakfast program. She tells them that they can come down and help out anytime. The sisters say that they will and leave.

10:30 a.m.

The crowd gradually disperses, Sharon and Twymond continue walking. They arrive at the hospital and start hawking the Panther paper. Sharon had sold five papers since leaving the office, while Twymond had sold three.

"Check it, read all about it, Black Panther newspaper."

11:00 a.m.

Sharon says that she is going to check in (Panthers are required to make hourly phone checks with their branch office). While talking to the OD, Sharon is told to remind Twymond that he had a twelve o'clock appointment with the school people. Sharon is also told to accompany him to the school. Twymond tells Sharon that the school is a couple of blocks away from the hospital so it won't take too long. They continue selling papers.

12:00 p.m.

Sharon reminds Twymond about the appointment and they both decided to walk over to the school. They have been in the community for two hours and between them they have sold nineteen papers. Before they leave Twymond calls the office. Since Twymond has been working with high school students he is given permission to officially speak to the students at the school.

They arrive at the storefront school. The plate glass windows are covered with pictures of Black and Latin cultural and political figures. There are photos of Malcolm X, King, Angela Davis, Kareem Abdul Jabar, Huey Newton, Roberto Clemente, Cha Cha Jimenez, and Albizu Campos.

As Twymond enters the building a young white man with a beard and sideburns approaches and asks:

Twymond Webb? Hi, my name is Dave; I am responsible for admissions at the school. We've been looking forward to your visit; the students are particularly eager to talk about the B.P.P.

In the course of a ten-minute interview Dave said he was impressed with Twymond's academic record and knew of no reason why he couldn't attend the school.

While Twymond was being interviewed, Sharon was talking to a group of students who were interested in the Party. She got a couple of the teachers to buy ten papers each so they could distribute them to the students.

Twymond completed his interview and joined Sharon in a large student lounge. Dave introduces Twymond and then sits down. Twymond begins by acknowledging that they already had met Sharon. He proceeded to make a fifteen minute speech on the role of students in the revolution. The major point of Twymond's speech was that students must work with the people in the community. He stated that students must dedicate their efforts to utilizing their skills to serve the people. As an example, Twymond suggested that the students could develop a liberation school and tutorial program for the neighborhood children.

1:00 p.m.

Sharon asks Dave if she could use the phone in his office. She calls the Panther office and checks in. The OD encouraged her to not spend too much time at the school and to get back to selling papers soon. Twymond continues to talk with the students. Sharon joins the discussion.

1:20 p.m.

Sharon indicates to Twymond that it's time to go. Following an exchange of "power to the people" and "right on", Twymond made another appointment with Dave to discuss entrance arrangements and the two Panthers returned to the hospital to sell papers. They had missed the lunchtime crowd, and their prospects of selling a large amount of papers was now more remote than ever. Between the two they had sold 42 papers, including the twenty Sharon sold to the teachers. Sharon offered to split the sales of those papers so Twymond would get the credit for ten of the twenty. Sharon explained to him that it was he who got them to the school and therefore should also benefit from her sales. Twymond thanked her but made little of it, not because he was apprehensive rather because it was expected that Sharon would practice socialist principles.

2:00 p.m.

Twymond calls in and he returns to selling papers.

2:30 p.m.

Sharon asks Twymond how many papers he had sold. He replied thirty. She had sold 35. Given the fact that a Panther received \$.05 for each paper sold, they had \$3.25 between them. Sharon suggested that they get a couple of hot dogs. Twymond wasn't too high on eating one hot dog but he reluctantly agreed. He suggested that they sell papers for a while more. Sharon agrees. As they are selling papers a man in a suit approaches Sharon. He explains that he works at the hospital and that he is working with a group of health workers who are interested in doing some kind of community work. Sharon explained that the Party was in the process of developing a medical clinic. She asked for his address and phone number and indicated that someone would contact him; she also gave him the office number.

Sharon relays the information to Twymond, then reminds him of her hunger. Twymond complains about the hot dogs. Sharon then states she knows this sister who works at the Student Union at the college and she'll let them eat free. Hunger overshadowed his dislike for the campus and he agreed.

3:00 p.m.

Sharon calls the office, relays the health workers information, and informs the OD that they are going to the campus to sell papers.

Sharon and Twymond take the bus to the campus. At the Student Union cafeteria Sharon's friend Aisha is behind the counter. After exchanging greetings and introductions Aisha tells them to go through the line and she'll take care of it. Twymond and Sharon got some food and Aisha rang up \$1 and they sat in the back of the room. As they eat they sold the paper to students. Aisha came by and Sharon talked with her for a while. Twymond and Sharon walk the campus selling papers.

They decide that they will return to the colony at 4:30.

4:00 p.m.

Twymond calls the office and reports their new plans. On the bus they count their papers, Sharon has sold 68 papers and Twymond has sold 76. They have spent about \$2.00 on carfare, phone calls, and snacks. Sharon wants to go to this housing complex where she knows some people who are organizing a community center. A friend has been asking her to stop by for the longest time. Her work as communications secretary has not allowed her the

time. She figures this is her best opportunity. Twymond has no problems since it is getting late and colder.

They arrive at the "Malcolm X Peoples Community Center" office. There are the usual posters of Malcolm X, Rap Brown, Angela Davis, and Dick Gregory. The center houses a tenants' group, drug counseling, and a day-care center. Sharon's friend works with the tenants' group. The group is about to inspect a building and talk with the tenants about organizing.

5:00 p.m.

Sharon's friend invites them to come along. She asks Twymond and then calls the office. The OD says it's OK. The conditions at the building were extremely poor. The entrance door was missing and the hallway smelled of urine. There was no light in the first floor hallway. The tenants' group first met with a couple who occupied an apartment on the ground floor. They are the ones who first contacted the organization.

Sharon and Twymond said very little as they accompanied the group on a tour through the building. In the basement the floor was covered with about two inches of water which had seeped in from a

water main break on the street. There is evidence of rats.

Sharon explains to her friend that the Party had a housing advocacy committee and they would be interested in working with the group.

Following the tour, Sharon's friend meets with the tenants in the young couple's apartment. Twymond and Sharon also attended. At the meeting, Sharon was quick to encourage the tenants to take action against the landlord. She explained how Black people needed to stand up and fight for their rights; otherwise they would continue to be exploited and oppressed. While those in the tenants' organization explained the legal procedures for conducting a rent strike, Sharon convinced Twymond to donate about five to eight newspapers so they could give them to the tenants.

Twymond has been saving his nickels (from each paper sold) so he can purchase a firearm. This is going to cost him between \$75 to \$100, and he is nowhere close to that amount. Reluctantly, Twymond agrees to give away some papers. Sharon knew Twymond was saving to buy a "piece", and she was proud of him for sacrificing his personal goals for the people. The tenants were very appreciative for the papers. As they eagerly looked through the paper Twymond drew

their attention to an article on a group of tenants in Chicago who forced the city to arrest their landlord and fix up the building. At this point Sharon's friend reminded the tenants that he could assist them if they wanted to withhold their rent and/or sue their landlord.

6:00 p.m.

Sharon and Twymond excused themselves and left the building. They both were feeling pretty good even though it was dark and getting much colder. The experience of talking with the tenants and their eagerness to struggle to improve their conditions warmed them to the point that the cold had little effect on them. They decided that instead of taking the bus back to the office they would walk.

Sharon called the office and informed the OD of their plans. With the additional 15 papers given out at the tenants meeting, they each sold about 85 to 95 papers. For a Tuesday it was pretty good.

As they proceeded back to the office, Sharon commented on the poor condition of the building they just left. "You know the Party has got to do something about the housing, I mean children and old folks be living in these type of conditions and it's unhealthy from them." Twymond agreed with her; he also commented that the landlord should be dealt

with. If the pig housing courts wouldn't do anything then the people should move on these capitalist pigs. Yeah, responded Sharon, "like in Indianapolis where the Party jacked-up that pig landlord and forced him to fix the building".

As the two continued back to the office they meet three other Panthers also returning from the field.

"All Power to the People. What's happening sister, brother?" "Ain't nothing to it but the struggle."

"Yeah, I hear you, how many papers did you sell?"

"90", "83", "78", "69".

Twymond then tells the other Panthers about the F.B.I. visit. The other Panthers listen intensely.

They exchange challenges to the F.B.I. and then change the subject to what was for dinner as well as the topic of the evening meeting. One Panther expresses her displeasure with the criticism and self-criticism classes. She states that she does not mind the criticism but the meetings usually consisted of disciplining the rank and file for not working hard enough. Sharon interjects that the other Panther should bring that up at the meeting. The others in the group do not comment on this and begin to change the subject. The sister who first mentioned it continued to talk with Sharon. "You know, I would bring this up at the meeting but I

don't think Cathy and Doug will be responsive to it."

Sharon replies: "You might be right but you must dare to struggle, to dare to win." By this time the group had arrived at the Panther office. The members counted their papers and money, then turned them in. They then began writing their daily reports. Sharon assists others who had difficulty writing.

Since there was to be a meeting at the office, dinner would be eaten at the office.

7:00 p.m.

A 1966 blue and white Oldsmobile pulled up in front of the office. Two male Panthers bring in three large pots of spaghetti. As Panthers returned from the field and completed their reports, they served themselves.

Twymond is reminded by one of the brothers who delivered the food that it is his turn to cook tomorrow. Twymond said that he can do some serious burning and they don't have to worry about it.

7:45 p.m.

After eating Sharon, is invited by three Panthers to accompany them around the corner. When she asked why they told her to just come on. When the small group got around the corner one brother took out a bottle of port wine and a small can of lemon juice. He poured some of the wine on the ground ("for those in

the joint") and poured some of the lemon juice into the bottle. Sharon stated, "Maybe we should wait until after the meeting." The brother holding the bottle responded; "Shit, the meeting might take all night." The others, however, agreed to wait. The brother puts the top back on the bottle and places it back in the bag.

The group began to discuss the upcoming meeting. One asked if it was called for any particular reason or was it a regular meeting. Sharon said she thought it was a regular meeting but she knew that the issue of paper sales was going to be brought up. Another mentioned that they would much rather have a P.E. (political education) class. Sharon stated that the troops did need to learn more about the Black liberation struggle and it would be good to have more classes on Black history. The others agreed with her.

One went on to state he was tired of selling papers and that he thought the party should be doing more organizing. Others agreed with him but they also stated that it was time to get to the meeting. The discussion continued until they were in front of the office, at which time they stopped discussing their complaints.

8:11 p.m.

Chairs are set up in the back of the office. About sixteen Panthers take their seats as Doug, the Defense Captain, stood writing the agenda on a blackboard: (1) read and discuss article on housing conditions; (2) read and discuss Mao's "Criticism and Self-Criticism;" (3) individualism in the ranks; (4) security report.

Sharon was chosen to lead the discussion on housing conditions. Each member got a copy of the latest issue of The Black Panther. Each member took turns reading a paragraph and discussing its contents.

Many of the brothers had varying degrees of difficulty in reading but few failed to articulate the meaning of the text.

Sharon encouraged Tywmond to convey their experience at the tenants' meeting. This got others discussing the conditions they saw daily. One person asked what the Party was doing about this problem. Someone else stated that point number 4 of the Ten Point Program called for decent shelter fit for human beings; that it was a point that had yet to be fully developed but that people were working on it. Another talked about experience with tenants' groups in another city.

9:00 p.m.

Doug states that they must get on to the next topic on the agenda -- Criticism and Self-Criticism.

Cathy, the branch Field Lt. led this section. First, the cadre read the chapter in Mao's red book on criticism and self-criticism. They continued taking turns reading and explaining. The majority of people had a firm grasp on the material since they had discussed the same chapter about ten weeks ago.

9:17 p.m.

Cathy and Doug both led the discussion on rank and file productivity. Using Mao's chapter as a backdrop Cathy stated that the troops had to be criticized for lack of paper sales over the last two weeks. Doug added that there were many sisters and brothers in jail who were relying upon the cadre to raise the funds necessary for their defense. He added that the pigs were sabotaging the Party by consistently busting members. He reminded people that the paper was the major source of funding for the Party and its programs. A brother raised his hand and questioned if the raising of funds was the only method of defending political prisoners. Doug responded by saying that the only true means of liberation of all the people was armed struggle, but that as long as

legal means had not been fully used the party should take advantage of them.

Another member stated that the raising of funds was not the only use of the paper, for in fact it was the people who would ultimately free the political prisoners. The Black Panther was an educational tool to organize and educate the masses towards revolutionary politics.

Another member agreed but pointed out that after the weekend it becomes harder to sell the paper and many who we could be reaching were unable to afford the paper.

Another interjected that there are many people who could not afford the paper and therefore the Party was not reaching them.

Sharon explained how Twymond and she gave some papers away that day. Another commented that that was fine but it was an individual choice and not part of the branch's policy. Doug said he understood the cadre's concern with the emphasis on paper selling. He stated that he had talked to Distribution and National on the same issues. Doug also encouraged the rank and file to practice democratic centralism and include these in their daily and weekly reports. He went on to state that National nonetheless wanted them to increase the sales of papers. Doug added

that he had put in a request to be able to give away the papers on Wednesday evening and Thursday, since the new weekly edition came out on Thursday evening.

10:00 p.m.

The OD excused those in the P.E. class who were not longtime community workers or Panthers; he then locked the office door. Once this was done, two rifles and three pistols were brought out. One rifle was a 30 caliber Universal M-1 Carbine while the other was a Springfield 3.06 M-14. The pistols were an S.W. 357 revolver, S.W. 38 police special and a Browning eight shot 9mm.

The class which was now down to about 10 people broke into groups of two. Each group was handed a firearm and required to take it apart and put it back together.

Doug, Cathy, and the security officer assisted those who needed help.

10:38 p.m.

After each group got to handle each firearm, the security officer discussed the increased attacks by police on Panthers and Panther houses. He stressed that people must be alert and never travel alone. He also discussed the manner in which people were to defend the office in the event of police attack. One of his major points was that the Panthers were to

defend the office long enough to allow the people and the press to witness their surrender. He stated that the Party was not interested in property like the pigs, and the only reason for defending the office was to demonstrate self-defense to the people and to actually practice self-defense. He stressed that once the masses are in the street and the media are on the scene then it is time to surrender.

Following the security discussion the OD asked Twymond to describe the F.B.I. visit to his home. Following Twymond's account the security officer discussed the proper manner to deal with the F.B.I. or any other governmental agency. The group did a little role playing to demonstrate the posture one is to have when confronted by the F.B.I. The main point was not to say anything to them so as to reveal any information. It was further stated that F.B.I. agents can be very tricky and gain valuable information without the person knowing they are giving any.

11:30 p.m.

The meeting ends. Twymond and Sharon are asked to accompany four other Panthers as they drive across town to pick up some food from a warehouse. They are told that the night manager is willing to give up

some meat but he does not have the permission of the owners, so the Panthers have to go in the back way. As they drive across town someone mentioned that they feel uncomfortable about picking up the meat. "This could be a set up you know." "Yeah, but that's the chance you take when you serve the people," responded another.

12:05 a.m.

They arrived at the meat warehouse twenty-five minutes early. The night manager had requested they come at 12:30 to make sure the other manager had left.

The driver of the Panther car parked about three blocks away and turned off the headlights. The street was abandoned, there was no one on the street, and only about three other cars parked. Within ten minutes a police car passed by, and the Panthers ducked down so as to not be spotted. After the car drove away the Panthers began talking about the many encounters they had with police. "Yeah, remember when we went to get that wood and the pigs surrounded the lumberyard." "Yeah, I remember," said Sharon, "I remember Saku couldn't even get over the fence and ended up getting himself and Steve busted."

Tywmond was very quiet, watching for the police in the side-view mirror. He was not nervous but very alert.

12:30 a.m.

Doug says it is time to pick up the meat and the driver starts the car. Once at the warehouse Doug and Sharon get out the car and knock on the back door. The manager was waiting for them. He is a middle-aged white man with a ponytail. He explains to the Panthers that he and his wife are very impressed with the Party's free breakfast program and they wanted to do something to help out. He also stated that his boss was not as liberal as he was. One Panther asked if he would get in trouble when the boss found the meat missing. The manager stated that it was not a problem since he had talked to many of the workers who were Black and they agreed to cover it up. With this the manager called a black man over and told him to give the Panthers the stuff. The Panthers introduced themselves to the man, calling him brother. The man walked them to a stack of boxes which contained three cases of hot dogs and five cases of beef bacon. The Panthers quickly loaded up their car, thanked the two men, and drove off. As they left the area of the warehouse the group began to relax. One began talking about the

bottle of wine they put away earlier. They all agreed they would drink it once they put the food away.

Twymond continued to watch out for the police. As the car got closer to the office Twymond called out, "pigs coming up on you, I think they're going to stop us." Just as he finished the police lights went on and the cops called to them to pull over.

Doug asked if anyone was packing, to which everyone said no. "OK, I'll do the talking but we are not telling them where we got the meat."

Two police officers approached from both sides. They had their guns out and ordered everyone out and to put their hands against the car.

Once the Panthers did this and the police searched the car, they asked where they got the meat. Doug responded by handing the cop his license and car registration. The cop threw them on the ground and demanded to know where they got the meat. At this point more police cars arrived; people in the nearby buildings looked out their windows to find out what was going on. Seeing this Doug turned and faced the cop. "We did not steal this meat; it is ours and we do not have to tell you shit. If you want to see my license, here, but I have nothing to tell you about the meat."

Doug said this knowing that the night manager had made out an invoice for the meat. Doug and Sharon's name was on the invoice. Doug did not want to get the manager in trouble and also felt the cops had no right to question them on the meat. Doug and the others felt fairly comfortable since they were very close to the office and the people in the community were familiar to them. As a matter of fact people began calling to them by name. People also began coming outside in the cold night.

With the neighborhood in witness, the Panthers would not back down. After a long argument a Police Lt. arrived and talked with Doug. He stated that it was a delicate situation and that he did not want a riot on his hands. After more discussion, Doug and the Lt. agreed that Doug would be arrested on disorderly conduct but the others would be left alone and they would not confiscate the food if no one reported it stolen that night.

Doug talked with the Panthers and told them what was happening. He explained that some of them could not afford to be arrested and the food was needed for the morning. He also instructed them to call Sandy and Jeff Weinberg. The Weinbergs were two progressive whites who taught radical economy at the university.

They had been used in the past to bail out Panthers on minor charges.

1:45 a.m.

Once the police arrested Doug, Sharon called the Weinbergs and then the Panther lawyer, as well as Cathy. Cathy told Sharon to take two other Panthers, pick up the Weinbergs, and meet the lawyers downtown. While others stored the food, Sharon told Twymond and two other Panthers to come with her.

2:00 a.m.

The Panthers and the Weinbergs arrived at central booking. A young Black woman just out of law school greets them. Sharon has met her before at a fund-raiser; they exchange greetings and proceed to bail Doug out.

2:30 a.m.

Once the arrangements are made the Panthers drive the Weinbergs home and return to await Doug's release.

5:00 a.m.

Doug is released; he thanks the lawyer and the Panthers leave. Doug suggests they grab a bite to eat.

While at an all-night restaurant, Twymond and Sharon realize that it is too late to get someone to substitute at the free breakfast program. Doug tells

them to go to the breakfast program but then get some sleep and report to the office at 2:00 p.m.

6:00 a.m.

Twymond and Sharon leave the restaurant to catch the bus to take them to the breakfast program. "All Power to the People, Serve the People."

CHAPTER 10

CHRONOLOGY OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

1966

1966. Huey Newton and Bobby Seale develop relationship while attending Merritt Community College, in Oakland, California. Huey was very active in developing the first Afrikan American Association on campus. Through the activities of this student organization, Bobby and Huey began to discuss Black Nationalist politics.

The best read and most outspoken campus activist, Newton began to develop a strong reputation as a serious Black nationalist leader. One of the major concerns of both Huey and Bobby was that student activities be related to the Black community. This position led to disenchantment towards many of the other Black student activities on campus.

October 1966. While working in a local poverty program, Huey and Bobby began to canvass the Black community of Oakland in an attempt to ascertain the pressing needs and desires of the people. As a result of this research, Huey and Bobby formulated a Ten Point Platform and Program which they felt represented the wants and beliefs of the Black community. With the literary assistance of Huey's brother, Melvin Newton, Sociology

Professor at Merritt College, they wrote up the Ten Point Program and Platform, reproduced 1,000 copies and distributed them throughout Oakland. With this document as their program, the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was officially formed in October 1966.

Fall 1966. Huey Newton, Minister of Defense; Bobby Seale, Chairman; and Bobby Hutton, Treasurer (17 year old recruit from local poverty program) raised money by selling books; Quotations of Chairman Mao, and Fanon's Wretched of the Earth. With the proceeds from the book sales they bought guns and printed up literature.

November 1966. B.P.P. establishes patrols to monitor Oakland police activities within the Black community. With law books, various guns, and a couple of cars, the founding members drove around Oakland confronting police and advising Afrikan Americans of their legal rights.

Huey Newton was a prelaw student and had researched the California laws concerning the public display of arms and interfering with police activities. Having been on probation for a minor encounter with the police Huey carried a shotgun rather than a handgun which he was not legally eligible to have. Bobby Hutton, who was seventeen years old and therefore underage, also did not qualify to possess a handgun. Bobby Seale, on the other hand, was legally able to carry a handgun in public as long as it was

not concealed. Bobby Seale carried a .45 automatic pistol in a shoulder holster worn over his jacket.

In the act of advising people of their rights or while confronting the police, the Panthers stood at the legal distance from the police and "suspect."

1967

January 1967. With proceeds from book sales B.P.P. for Self-Defense opens store front office in Afrikan American community of Oakland. B.P.P. hold meetings and political education classes in office. Within the first week of the opening Sherman Forte, John Sloane, Mark Johnson, and Warren Tucker joined B.P.P. (Bobby stated that the guns were used to attract the young militant 'brothers of the block,' while the red book could be sold to the white students and generate funds.) Seale also stated that once the 'brothers off the block' got to the office they were introduced to the red book. Young children were also attracted to the office where they hung out. B.P.P. held rallies in community and on campuses around their Ten Point Program and Platform, particularly #7: "We want an immediate end to Police Brutality and Murder of Black People."

February 21, 1967. Betty Shabazz visits Bay Area. The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense works with another organization called The Black Panther Party of Northern

California. These two Bay Area Black organizations were to organize a conference to be held during the visit of B. Shabazz, the widow of the slain Malcolm X. Eldridge Cleaver, author of "Soul on Ice" and editor of Ramparts magazine, is working with the Black Panther Party of Northern California, first meets with Oakland (Newton and Seale) group. The B.P.P. for self defense was responsible for security of B. Shabazz. B.P.P. goes to airport and picks up Shabazz, they are confronted by police about their arms. B.P.P. holds/its ground. Big press coverage of armed Afrikan Americans escorting B. Shabazz from airport.

B.P.P. escorts Shabazz to Ramparts office in San Francisco. Outside office there is another confrontation with police. During this episode Newton has a standoff with a police officer who wants to disarm him. The officer backs down in front of crowd of media and downtown traffic. As a consequence of these highly publicized incidents the B.P.P. for Self Defense becomes widely known throughout Northern California. The ranks of the organization grow.

April 15, 1967. Eldridge Cleaver speaks at massive San Francisco Peace Rally of 65,000. Ms. King also speaks. Rally results in Cleaver getting national T.V. exposure. The parole board objects. They restrict Cleaver from T.V./Radio, appearances, traveling and making public

speeches critical of California politicians or prison officials.

April 27, 1967. First issue of The Black Panther; Black Community News Service, the official voice of the B.P.P. Young children 9, 10 and 11 years old distribute the paper throughout the community.

The issue is dedicated to a young A.A., Denzil Dowell, who was slain by Oakland Police. B.P.P. organize community in protest to this police killing. They organize rallies, demonstrations, and a memorial for Denzel. B.P.P. gains more community support for police patrols.

March-May 1967. B.P.P. continues to organize Oakland, increase police patrols and rallies. There is also an increase in minor confrontations between police and B.P.P. Some members are arrested on minor charges. Cars are constantly stopped by Oakland police.

B.P.P. work with community on other issues such as installing stop signs at dangerous intersections, and community review board for police dept.

May 21, 1967. Due to a pending bill in the state legislature which would outlaw the public position of loaded firearms in California, thirty armed B.P.P. members led by Bobby Seale go to Sacramento protest. Once in the capitol building the B.P.P. group was confronted by both media people and capital police. Group walked into the assembly chambers but was immediately ushered out by

police. Bobby Seale reads statement written by Newton (executive mandate #1), which was titled 'In defense of Self-Defense'. The statement dealt with Afrikan Americans' rights and need to defend themselves from brutality.

May 21, 1967. While leaving Sacramento, Seale, Emory Douglass and others are stopped at a gas station next to the ramp leading to the highway to Oakland. A police car stops and a policeman approaches Seale inquiring about his gun. Over the police radio Seale hears "Arrest them on anything." There was a brief confrontation when more police arrived. All thirty Panthers and many people from the surrounding area were arrested (Seale: 1970). Eldridge Cleaver who was present in the capacity of journalist for Ramparts, was also arrested.

As a result of these arrests Seale and the others made a deal with the authorities: Seale and a few other Panther members served four to six months in jail so those who were on parole (from other cases) could have the charges dropped. Eldridge Cleaver proved in court that he was on the scene as a reporter and that the police were arresting all Afrikan Americans in the area.

May 26, 1967. Seale, Newton, Cleaver, and Emory Douglass put out the 2nd issue of The Black Panther. This issue was more professionally laid out by Douglass, a graphics artist, and edited by Eldridge Cleaver, best seller author and an editor for a fairly large magazine.

The paper is sold for 25 cents by rank and file members.
Eldridge Cleaver joins the Panthers as Minister of
Information.

May 1967. B.P.P. officially stops police patrols in
Oakland before pending bill is passed.

October 26, 1967. Huey Newton is stopped by two
police officers late at night while driving through
Oakland. A shooting ensues: Officer John Frey was shot
and killed while Newton and Officer Hurbert Heans were
wounded. While being treated at the hospital Newton was
arrested for murder, assault, and attempted murder. Newton
was shot in the stomach. Newton claimed that he was
stopped by police and passed out after being shot. He said
he did not know who shot the police. No gun was found on
Newton and he was driven to the hospital by someone who was
never identified.

November 23, 1967. During summer and Fall 1967 paper
has many S.N.C.C. articles as well articles on Marcus
Garvey.

November/ December 1967. Cleaver and Seale begin to
speak on a national level. Main message is to free Huey
Newton.

November 1967. Kathleen Cleaver from S.N.C.C. moves
to San Francisco. Begins to work with B.P.P., especially
with The Black Panther newspaper. She also dealt with
writing press releases and holding press conferences.

November 1967. Free Huey campaign begins in earnest. Mass rallies at the court building, press conferences, street rallies, T.V. news spots. Membership grows to over two hundred members.

December 8, 1967. Bobby Seale is released from jail (case resulting from the Sacramento incident).

Mass rallies continue throughout the Bay area to free Huey Newton. S.N.C.C.- inspired pickets are formed around the court building on a daily basis. Mass paramilitary marches are held in front of the court house.

December 22, 1967. The B.P.P. develops a coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party (P.F.P.) (a white liberal/progressive political party which run candidates in both local and national elections). Under the terms of the coalition the P.F.P. would conduct voter registration in the Oakland community and the B.P.P. would receive equipment such as a sound truck as well as \$3,000 for Newton's defense.

As a result of this coalition Eldridge Cleaver eventually ran for president on the P.F.P. ticket on a platform of Free Huey Newton. Both Bobby Seale and Huey Newton ran for local office in the name of the Ten point program and platform. Kathleen Cleaver also runs for local office in San Francisco.

November/December 1967. Based upon his political commitment, past union/labor activities and court record of

defending in criminal cases, as well as the price (he stated 'let's not worry about money, let's first free Huey'), Charles Geary was chosen to defend Huey Newton.

1968

January 1968. Planning for massive 'Free Huey' rally to be held in the Oakland Auditorium held on February 17, 1968. Invited speakers are Stokely Carmichael, and other S.N.C.C. leaders, as well as Black Panther Party leaders.

P.F.P. provides funding to organize rally and to allow Seale and Cleaver to travel.

January 1968. San Francisco tactical police squad burst into Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver's apartment looking for guns; no guns are found in the Cleaver house. Eldridge is forbidden to possess firearms due to his parole. After this incident Kathleen decided to buy guns so she can protect her family.

January 1968. Seale and Cleaver travel to Washington D.C. to visit Stokely Carmichael. Enlist him as keynote speaker at free Huey rally in February.

February 1968. Stokely Carmichael visits Huey Newton in jail. National press covers his visit.

February 1968. Seale and Cleaver travel to L.A., talk with James Forman, leader in S.N.C.C.. Forman wants Black Panther Party to stop dealing with Carmichael and

instead deal with H. Rap Brown, another national S.N.C.C. leader.

Cleaver enlists two friends from L.A. whom he had known in prison, Alprentice 'Bunchy' Carter and Earl Anthony. They begin to run Cleaver's Presidential campaign in Southern California.

February 17, 1968. Massive Free Huey rally held in Oakland Auditorium. Police are not allowed in or around building.

Cleaver announces a B.P.P. - S.N.C.C. alliance. H. Rap Brown is made Minister of Justice, James Forman, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Stokely Carmichael, appointed Prime Minister. All three S.N.C.C. leaders were drafted into the B.P.P. to avoid favoring any of the S.N.C.C. factions. \$10,000 is raised for Newton's defense at rally.

February/March 1968. L.A. chapter of B.P.P. is formed. Bunchy Carter and Earl Anthony lead effort. Aside from Free Huey/ Cleaver campaign, L.A. B.P.P. works with Black Students Union of L.A. During this same time the newly formed chapter was experiencing some difficulty with a southern California nationalist group United Slaves (US). In January of 1968 Carter expressed to Seale that the local student union was being intimidated by the US organization.

March 1968, Seattle, Washington Chapter opens. Aaron and Elmer Dixon, Curtis Harris form chapter.

February 1968. Police bust into Bobby Seale's House and arrest him and his wife Artie. Police claim to have overheard Seale saying 'we should get Rap'. During a search of Seale's house the police found a sawed off shotgun. Bobby overheard one policeman state, 'We found it' while another cop responded 'yeah, we expected to find that' (Seale: 1970).

Bobby Seale is charged with illegal possession of a sawed off shotgun and conspiracy to commit murder. Artie Seale is charged with illegal possession of a sawed off shotgun. The shotgun in question turned out to have neither Artie's or Bobby's fingerprints on it.

Bobby Seale stated that the conspiracy charge was an attempt to cause friction within S.N.C.C. and between S.N.C.C. and the B.P.P. Bobby stated that he never said anything about H. Rap Brown during the period leading up to the police busting into his house (Seale: 1968). On the contrary the B.P.P. made certain not to get involved in the internal feuding within S.N.C.C. (see above S.N.C.C./B.P.P. alliance).

A woman living next door to the Seales stated that a European American man had rented a room from her two weeks prior to the arrest. She also said that he was the man who

had been looking around Seale's window earlier on the day of the arrest.

February 18, 1968. David Hilliard, Bunchy Carter, his brother, and an unnamed woman were in a car that was surrounded by at least twenty Oakland police. All in the car were arrested on weapons charges.

March 1968. As a result of the increased police activity against B.P.P. members, Huey Newton issues Executive Mandate #3, which calls for all Black Panther Party members to legally arm themselves and defend themselves if anyone is acting in an illegal manner regardless of whether that person was wearing a police uniform or not.

March 16, 1968. Stokely Carmichael makes statement in support of Newton. Makes connection between Orangeburg S.C., killings 3/17/68 and Newton's case.

March 16, 1968. Letter of support from H. Rap Brown printed in The Black Panther.

March 1968. A woman tells Eldridge Cleaver that she overheard two off duty Oakland police officers discussing plans to 'get the Panthers' sometime in April of 1968.

A few days after Cleaver received information on impending police plot, Bobby Seale was told by a former Afrikan American Oakland police officer that he, too, heard rumors that the police were planning something against the B.P.P.

Bobby Seale orders increase of weapons and directs members to be alert.

April 5, 1968. The day Dr. Martin L. King Jr. is murdered. Bobby Seale was hiding due to rumors of police attack. A warrant was issued against him on the earlier shotgun charge, since he missed a court appearance. Seale had already cautioned Party members to be extra careful, follow the law, but be prepared to defend themselves.

Eldridge Cleaver and Charles Geary inform judge of Seale's apprehension towards appearing at the court building. They convince judge to drop warrant. Bobby Seale comes out of hiding.

April 5 - 6, 1968. Bobby Seale holds press conference at police Headquarters. He calls for Oakland Afrikan American community to refrain from rioting over Dr. King's murder. Calls for community to organize to defend their community. Seale also informed community of the campaign by the Oakland police against the B.P.P.

The Oakland community did not riot following the murder of Dr. King Jr.; however, many people from the community did approach the Black Panther Party for guns.

April 1 - 7, 1968. B.P.P. organizing for massive barbecue/ picnic for election campaign and Free Huey. The barbecue was to be held on April 7th in Defremery Park, Oakland, and it was announced on the radio throughout the Bay Area.

April 1968. Central Committee is formed. The new Central Committee consists of Huey Newton, Minister of Defense, Bobby Seale, Chairman, Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information, David Hilliard, Chief of Staff, Kathleen Cleaver, Communication Secretary, Emory Douglass, Minister of Culture, Melvin Newton, as well as the three S.N.C.C. leaders.

Bobby Seale makes it clear that there is a difference between working for Huey Newton Defense and Black Panther Party membership.

April 6, 1968. Late night/early morning three carloads of B.P.P. members drive through Oakland having just finished final preparations for the picnic. E. Cleaver, B. Hutton, D. Hilliard, and others are in the lead car. Eldridge turns off the main street to relieve himself. He gets out of the car and begins to urinate when police cars approach from both directions. An officer gets out of his car with gun drawn and orders Eldridge into the middle of the street. Before Cleaver can respond the police start shooting. The Panthers from all the cars jump out and run for cover. Cleaver is pinned down in the corner of an alley, when police approach firing at him. Bobby Hutton guides Cleaver over a fence to temporary safety. After about two minutes police start shooting at Cleaver and Hutton. Hutton retreats into a house as the police close in on Cleaver, firing at him. Hutton retreats

into a house as the police close in on Cleaver firing at him. Hutton returns fire from small caliber rifle (1st time Panthers return fire during incident) just in time to allow Cleaver to escape the gunfire and retreat into the building. Hutton and Cleaver are held up in the house for almost two hours. At one point police fire continuously for one half hour. Eldridge Cleaver is first hit in the chest by a tear gas canister, then is shot in a leg and foot.

The building catches fire from the large amount of tear gas shot into it. Hutton and Cleaver decided to throw out the rifle and offer to surrender once they hear people from the community calling for the police to stop firing. Cleaver tells Hutton to take off his clothes, (Cleaver's are already off due to Hutton's attempt to find Cleaver's wounds); this is to demonstrate that they are not armed. Hutton strips down to underwear and assists Cleaver outside. The police order them to raise their hands. Hutton does as ordered, but Cleaver falls to the ground due to his wounds. The police tell Hutton to run about twenty yards to awaiting police car, but before he gets ten yards he is shot over twenty times. The police then turn their guns on Eldridge Cleaver but people from the community again begin to scream and shout; 'Don't shoot, don't shoot.' Police then beat Cleaver. All the surviving Panthers are arrested for attempted murder. Eldridge

Cleaver is taken to the hospital and held on parole violation. Bobby Hutton was D.O.A.

April 1968. Bobby Hutton's funeral. Huey sends message to B.P.P. and community not to riot but again to organize, train, and educate.

April 1968. N.Y.C. chapter is formed on Fulton street in Brooklyn. Pennywell, Jordan Ford, David Brothers, and Lumumba Shakur were founding members.

May 1968. Bobby Seale, Huey Newton, and Kathleen Cleaver all get on local ballots on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket. Newton and Seale each receive over 25,000 votes in the East Bay Area.

May 18, 1968. K. Cleaver is running against Black incumbent Willie Brown. Article attacks Brown for not speaking out on Hutton killing.

May 1968. Bobby Seale goes on a national speaking tour to campaign for Newton's release and to gain new membership. Membership grows, N.J. and Detroit organize groups which ask to join B.P.P.

May 1968. Seattle chapter opens Free Breakfast Program. Program to feed poor children five days a week. The program also consists of educational sessions to teach the children 'their true history and present conditions in everyday life.' (Point number 5 of the B.P.P. Ten Point Program and Platform). The Breakfast program was also an attempt to give the community an example of what socialism

would be like. The Seattle program first served 25-10 children on a daily basis. The chapter eventually developed three more breakfast programs which served over 300 children daily.

May 18, 1968. Notice in The Black Panther "June 13 last day to buy guns and Ammo." article deals with the new firearm laws requirements in California.

June 6, 1968. Eldridge Cleaver is released on bond. Judge ruled that his parole had been improperly revoked. Cleaver vows not to return to jail. He steps up his speaking, goes on national tour speaking in Black community and college campuses. He also continues to write articles, edits The Black Panther and works for Ramparts magazine.

July 1968. Huey Newton's first-degree murder trial begins. Huey contends that he was shot as soon as his car was stopped, that he passed out at that time and does not know who or how the two police officers were shot. Every day over three hundred people demonstrated outside the court house.

July 1968. Des Moines, Iowa chapter opens. Office is donated by Catholic Charities of Des Moines. The local B.P.P. had a working relationship with the local welfare rights organization as well as various church groups. Together they sponsored a breakfast program, welfare rights advocate program, and various youth activities.

July 1966. Group of B.P.P. members visit United Nations. They talk with Third World nations and liberation movements about the plight of Afrikan Americans and other people of color in the United States.

June 1968. 100's of members are recruited at Long Island University, N.Y. program. These members join Brooklyn Branch of B.P.P./N.Y.

August 1968. Indianapolis Ind. chapter opens.

August 1968. Bobby Seale makes speech in Chicago during the Democratic Party national convention. Seale spoke at the rally attended by over 20,000 people. This was during the Students for a Democratic Society's (S.D.S.) call for 'days of rage', where thousands of predominantly European American students went to Chicago during the convention to disrupt it. The Chicago police under orders from Mayor Richard Daley went on a three day rampage beating and arresting demonstrators. Bobby Seale was only one of many people who came to Chicago to speak to the demonstrators. Seale spent less than twenty four hours in the city.

September 1968. Eldridge Cleaver's parole is again overturned and he is ordered back to prison. Cleaver goes into hiding. Later it is discovered that he fled the country and was granted political asylum in Cuba.

September 7, 1968. Southern California Chicano group "Brown Berets" attends funeral of B.P.P./L.A. members Tommy Lewis, Robert Lawrence, and Steven Bartholomew.

September 1968. Huey Newton is convicted of second degree manslaughter, although the judge charged the jury for 1st degree murder.

During the trial lawyer C. Geary revealed that the prosecution had altered the taped interview of one of its key witnesses. The judge had the court records changed but never informed the jury of the new developments.

Newton's lawyers immediately filed an appeal on a number of grounds, one of which was the fact that the jury did not follow the judge's charge.

September 1968. After the verdict in Newton's trial, drunk off duty Oakland cops drive past the B.P.P. headquarters in Oakland and fire ten rounds at the office.

September 1968. Jamal Joseph joins Brooklyn branch of B.P.P./N.Y. He is involved in student organizations, working with Afrikan American and Latin community groups attempting to take control of Bronx Hospital (Lincoln Hospital).

October 26, 1968. "Black people keep your guns," another article about California gun laws.

October 5, 1968. Randy Williams, Captain, West Oakland, B.P.P. calls for arming the masses, article contained technical information on firearms.

October 5, 1968. First Aid information on heart attacks, diet, etc.

October 5, 1968. N.Y./ B.P.P. leaders Jourdon Ford and David Brothers along with lawyers J. Lefcourt, and W. Kunstler, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, Law Center for Constitutional Rights, and the National Lawyers Guild file lawsuit calling for decentralization of the N.Y.P.D.

October 1968. Police attack B.P.P./N.Y.

October 26, 1968. B.P.P./S.F. work with independent Free Medical Clinic.

November 11, 1968. West Oakland B.P.P. begins Free Breakfast Program.

November 16, 1968. Minister of Information and Editor of The B.O. listed as Underground.

November 16, 1968. Article in Chinese appears in The Black Panther.

Fall 1968. Brownsville, N.Y.C., office of B.P.P. opens B.P.P. work with Brownsville Community council and welfare rights organizations. They also organize a sweep-up in order to clean up neighborhood. Their breakfast program served 30 - 70 children daily. They organize rent strikes and force the city to provide tenant services. Brownsville B.P.P. also worked to keep peace between Latin and Black youth.

November 23, 1968. Progressive Labor Party sends telegram demanding justice for Newton.

November 23, 1968. Advertisement for Rap Brown and Leroy Jones greetings cards.

October/November 1968. Oakland chapter of B.P.P. opens its first Free Breakfast Program.

November 1968. Chicago Chapter is officially recognized by National headquarters in Oakland as B.P.P., Bobby Brown, former S.N.C.C. leader heads effort to form chapter.

December 18, 1968. Indianapolis Indiana/ B.P.P. office raided by F.B.I. and local police.

December 1968. New Jersey/B.P.P. Office fire bombed.

December 21, 1968. Articles on San Francisco State Panther B.S.U. inspired strike. #10 of students demands is the reinstatement Minister of Education George Murray.

December 21, 1968. B.P.P./Brooklyn participate in mass student demonstration for community control of schools.

December 1968. Bobby Seale goes to World Peace Conference held in Montreal Canada. He gives full support of the B.P.P. to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. The Party also donates \$300 to the N.L.F.

December 1968. During the year five Black Panther members are killed and seventeen are wounded by police.

December 1968/January 1969. Maywood N.A.A.C.P. youth leader, Fred Hampton (21 year old) joins Chicago/Illinois Chapter of B.P.P. High school basketball star, Brad Greene

Joins Chicago B.P.P. B.P.P. Chicago worked to forge peace/unity with Black Stone Rangers (large street gang), Young Lords Puerto Rican street gang turned political, Young Patriots, European American gang turned political, as well as S.D.S.

1969

January 1969. Kansas City, Missouri chapter opens. William Whifield and Pete O'Neil form chapter/ They lease office/house from the Methodist Inner City Parish (M.I.C.P.) for \$1 annually. B.P.P./K.C. worked with M.I.C.P. on free breakfast program, welfare rights organizing, and community drug program. The M.I.C.P. had a young adults defense fund which they used to bail out arrested B.P.P. members. They also donated the services of a van for food distribution. At first rally held by K.C. chapter over 700 people attend. K.C. chapter works with local community on trash clean-up/ and putting pressure on city to increase services to Afrikan American community.

B.P.P./K.C. worked out an agreement with 'established' leaders of the community to have these leaders accompany the police in the event the police wanted to search B.P.P. headquarters or members' residents. Police also agreed to conduct such searches during the daytime. The K.C. police dept. violated this agreement.

January 1969. B.P.P./K.C. conducts police patrols for a few weeks, then discontinue them due to legal problems.

January 15, 1969. Defense captain, N.Y./B.P.P. runs for 12th Congressional district. He is a candidate for the P.F.P. Platform similar to west coast candidates Cleaver, Seale, and Newton.

January 16, 1969. Off duty and on duty cops beat 12 B.P.P. members in Des Moines.

January 17, 1969. Bunchy Carter, Deputy Minister of Defense Southern California, and John Huggins, Deputy Minister of Information Southern California, are shot and killed in Campbell hall on the University of California, Los Angeles campus by members of US organization.

The B.P.P. and US organization were both invited to U.C.L.A. by the Black Students Union in an attempt to decide which organization would influence/run the Black studies program. Huggins and Carter had just finished their presentation for the B.P.P. when B.P.P. member Elaine Brown approached Carter and informed him that a member of the US organization had just hit her. When Bunchy Carter confronts US members, he and John Huggins are shot and killed.

Karenga, leader of US has claimed that Carter shot first at the US members. In any event, information

uncovered over the years establish proof that the F.B.I. fueled the bad feeling between B.P.P. and US.

Four months later, on May 23, 1968, B.P.P. member John Savage is killed by US members in San Diego, California. The B.P.P. claimed that he had witnessed the Carter and Huggins murders and was killed to prevent him from testifying at the US members trial.

January 25, 1969. National headquarters enact a membership purge to "... increase political awareness and eliminate the provocateurs, and members whose conduct is detrimental to the welfare of the community and the Party. The Party. The Party will not come to the aid of those in trouble if they break discipline. Any Party member who acts in an individualistic manner must suffer the consequences. The Party will make efforts to increase political Education among the membership. Members must be made to see that the efforts of the B.P.P. are of a political nature and that the Party uses military procedures are to accelerate the accomplishment of the political objectives ... political objectives remain paramount in the scheme of things."

February 1969. Brooklyn B.P.P. members work with High School students on boycott/demonstrations at Canarsie High. Afrikan American students demand a holiday for Human Rights leader Malcolm X and the establishment of a cultural center in the school.

March 1969. Chicago/B.P.P. starts first Breakfast program; over the following year they developed two more. Illinois chapter of the B.P.P. also encouraged and assisted an Afrikan American student group in opening a free breakfast program. Their work with street gangs resulted in the Black Disciples also developing a breakfast program.

March 20, 1969. Bobby Seale is indicted for violating the federal anti-riot act. This stems from his speech in Chicago during 1968 Democratic convention.

April 2, 1969. New York police serve warrants for the arrest of twenty one N.Y. Black Panther members. They arrest 13 B.P.P./N.Y. leaders. All are held on \$100,000 bail. They are charged with a wide range of offenses, from conspiracy to robbing subway token booths to conspiracy to bomb department stores and a botanical garden.

May 1969. Kim Holder age 12 1/2, joins Harlem Branch/B.P.P. Duties are to conduct political education among the youth who hang out around the Harlem office, work at various breakfast programs as well as collect food for program, organize door-to-door in northern Harlem around tenants rights and other housing issues.

There are four breakfast programs with connections to B.P.P./Harlem.

April/May/and June 1969. Party conducts a purge to consolidate national organization and install Party discipline. Many long time members are expelled from Party

and entire chapters are closed. Party membership is frozen and no new chapters or branches are to open.

Much of the original leadership is now in jail or exile. Local chapters are increasingly coming under attack by law enforcement groups. Police infiltration is at an all-time high. B.P.P. leadership, rank and file, and community in general are aware of police infiltration of B.P.P.

Spring 1969. Party members now required to give full-time commitment. In many chapters, such as N.Y., Boston, Chicago, and Northern California, members live in communal setting either in a Panther house or apartment. The cooking is done on a communal basis. B.P.P. provided clothes to members. For the most part members are not allowed to hold full-time jobs. Members could and did go to school, mainly high school with some attending college and some attending Jr. high school.

National Headquarters sent Field Marshal Donald Cox (D.C.) along with California Panther members Al Corroll, Landon Williams and Rory Hyth to N.Y. in order to fill the leadership void created by the arrest of the N.Y. Panther 21. The sending of these West Coast members, particularly D.C., was an attempt to strength Party discipline in New York.

June 27, 1969. Winston Salem N.C./N.C.C.F. begins work on the issue of political prisoners (non B.P.P.).

Summer 1969. B.P.P. proposes prisoner exchange between North Vietnam/Viet Cong and the United States government. The U.S. would release Huey Newton and other political prisoners and the Vietnamese would free captured U.S. soldiers. The National Front for Liberation (N.L.F.), agreed to the proposal in principle. B.P.P. begins to request relatives of P.O.W.s to contact them.

Summer 1969. Parts of The Black Panther printed in Spanish. This is done primarily to assist a Mexican American organization La Raza in its organizing efforts in California.

July 1969. Richmond, California/B.P.P. starts Liberation School. Brunch and snacks are provided during the day. The curriculum consists of Afrikan American History, writing skills, and political science.

July 18 - 21, 1969. In an attempt to develop a united popular front the B.P.P. set out to hold a National Committee to Combat Fascism (N.C.C.F.). Progressive people from all backgrounds were invited to a conference to be held in Oakland, California. At the conference participants were to develop a unified agenda for combating fascism in the United States. Organizations such as the Young Lords, Young Patriots, S.D.S., Republic of New Afrika, S.N.C.C., Red Guard participated in the numerous workshops.

August 19, 1969. Bobby Seale is arrested on conspiracy to riot and to incite riot. This stems from his appearance and speech at the protest in Chicago during the Democratic Convention August 1968. Seale posts bail and is immediately re-arrested on murder and conspiracy charges. The new charges come from the Alex Rackley murder trial in New Haven, Conn.

August 1969. K. Cleaver leaves country intending to join Eldridge in Cuba. She gets word from Eldridge that she should go to Algeria. Once in Algeria Eldridge joins her and is granted political asylum.

Fall 1969. B.P.P. form N.C.C.F. offices, these offices were not officially part of the B.P.P. They were, however, under the direction and leadership of the B.P.P. In some locations N.C.C.F. offices functioned similar to a B.P.P. chapter/branch, in other areas European Americans were allowed to join and participate in N.C.C.F. formations.

In N.Y.C. there were no European Americans involved in N.C.C.F. offices. These offices functioned similar to the B.P.P. branches in New York.

October 10, 1969. B.P.P. members Bruce Richards and Walter Toure Poke are stopped by members of the Los Angeles Police Department. A shoot-out follows, Poke is killed and Richards is wounded and charged with attempted murder.

Police claim the two were about to hold up a Jack-in-the-box restaurant.

December 15, 1969. A.N.C./South Afrika, Z.A.P.U./Zimbabwe send letter of support to B.P.P.

December 17, 1969. The Black Panther Managing editor, Big Man, is denied entrance to Denmark for speaking engagement.

1970

January 24, 1970. Milwaukee Chapter/B.P.P. is disbanded due to a lack of discipline by leadership and a lack of work in the Black Community.

January 3, 1970. Bobby Seale sends message to white progressive movement: defeat domestic imperialism. It is in response to whites' anti-war stance but lack of enthusiasm towards internal struggles.

January 9, 1970. B.P.P./Boston begins free clothing program; James Young is Program coordinator.

January 17, 1970. B.P.P. support for Eritrea Liberation struggle.

January 24, 1970. Milwaukee Wis. B.P.P. chapter disbanded. Lack of discipline by leadership. Lack of work in Black community.

January 24, 1970. Philadelphia breakfast program coordinator arrested on an old violation in which

accomplice was set free. Breakfast program to date served over 1,500 children.

February 5, 1970. Indianapolis B.P.P. holds large Free Huey rally to coincide with President Nixon's visit.

March 4, 1970. Winston Salem N.C./N.C.C.F. organized housing committee community worked to prevent evictions, pressure local agencies for assistance, and confront landlords.

March 7, 1970. Chicago community holds 'Peoples' 'inquest' into the Killings of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

March 7, 1970. B.P.P. delegation attends Palestine support committee conference in Algeria.

March 21, 1970. San Francisco chapter establishes tenants' grievance committee, similar to Winston Salem's.

March 24, 1970. Boston B.P.P. housing committee responds to community protest and prevents landlord from evicting mother and her children. The practice of B.P.P. members interceding on behalf of tenants in disputes with landlords was also repeated in the N.Y. chapter.

April 12, 1970. Offices of the New York law commune and N.Y. 21 lawyers, are set ablaze. Many of the files were destroyed by the flames. Some files were also taken by law enforcement people.

April 18, 1970. B.P.P. Solidarity committees from France, Britain, Denmark, Belgium, Netherlands, West Germany, and Sweden hold conference in Frankfurt. They

declare support for B.P.P., offer assistance, and protest respective governments to put pressure on the U.S. to free political prisoners.

April 18, 1970. S.F. chapter puts on a 'Peoples Street Festival' Festival is geared towards young people.

April 25, 1970. Berkeley/N.C.C.F. collects enough signatures to place the issue of community control of police on the ballot.

April 30, 1970. Baltimore B.P.P. Free breakfast program raided by 20 local policeman. Cops ask the adults for identification and leave. Two weeks earlier the police commissioner stated that he was starting a program of 'harassment' of the B.P.P., its programs and supporters.

June 13, 1970. B.P.P. sends delegation to United Nations to gain support for domestic third world people by third world nations and liberation organizations.

May 31, 1970. Shots are fired into the Boston/B.P.P. free medical clinic.

July 17, 1970. Mt. Vernon, N.Y. Black Community Information Center, starts liberation school. Lunch snacks are served.

July 25, 1970. Omaha, Nebraska chapter N.C.C.F. disbanded. This is after office/house was bombed (months earlier).

July 31, 1970. New Bedford, MA N.C.C.F. is raided by over one hundred police. The police looking for illegal

weapons. The day preceding the raid the N.C.C.F. held a news conference stating that they would submit to a daytime search of the office/house.

July 31, 1970. Indianapolis/B.P.P.: A white motorcycle gang called The Grim Reapers begin shooting up Black community. Panthers are called in to help. Panthers set up armed patrol in the community.

August 2, 1970. Hartford CT./N.C.C.F. office/house raided by police Cops claim to be looking for sniper on roof.

August 3, 1970. Philadelphia police stage predawn raid on three Black Community Information Centers. At one center the police attempted to enter the house by shooting, Panthers returned fire, wounding three policemen. The Panthers surrendered after a half-hour gun battle. At another center, police used a helicopter; at this center the police also started shooting. Seven Panthers (four men and three women) held off the police for a hour before surrendering. At one of the centers, upon surrendering the Panther members were forced to strip naked in the street while the press took pictures.

August 5, 1970. Huey Newton is released on bail after winning his appeal. Hundreds of people greet him upon his release.

August 7, 1970. Jonathan Jackson (17 year old) raids Marin County Hall of Justice. He enters a courtroom, gives

arms to prisoners; James McClain, William Christmas, and Ruchell McGee. The four take as hostage judge Harold Haley, the prosecutor, and three jurors. The group goes outside into a van provided by police. Federal directed police open fire on the van. In the ensuing shoot-out, W. Christman, J. McClain, J. Jackson and the judge were all killed by the police.

August 8, 1970. Michael Cetewayo Tabor of the N.Y. 21 is released on bail after sixteen months in jail.

August 8, 1970. N.C.C.F./ southern Illinois chapter founder Babatunde X Omarwali is killed.

August 8, 1970. Seattle/B.P.P. Starts program of busing visitors to state prisons.

August 11, 1970. L.A. chapter Deputy Min. Defense Geronimo Pratt fails to appear in court for L.A. 18 case.

August 15, 1970. B.P.P. holds Jonathan Jackson's funeral. Thousands of people attend. Newton reads eulogy. Newton terms Jackson and others' actions "revolutionary suicide".

August 21, 1970. Winston Salem/N.C.C.F. starts free clothing program.

August 21, 1970. Huey Newton call for B.P.P. and movement to support women's liberation and gay rights.

August 21, 1970. S. Cal. chapter starts free busing to prison program.

August 1970. By the middle of the month Newton is in New Haven CT. to help in the Free Seale campaign.

August 29, 1970. Huey Newton officially offers the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam Panther troops as a show of support for their struggle.

September 3, 1970. International section of B.P.P. in Algeria officially opens. At ceremony Cleaver states B.P.P. strategy as: 1. Unite Afrikan Americans, 2. Develop united front within United States, 3. Join international front against U.S. imperialism.

September 5, 1970. Newton holds press conference in Oakland, charges Stokely Carmichael with being a C.I.A. agent.

September 12, 1970. People's Constitutional Convention plenary session held in Philadelphia. Over 10,000 people attended weekend conference to set agenda for P.C.C. Housing to be provided by Temple University, but at last minute they backed down.

October 2, 1970. Newton visits General Motors wildcat strike plant in Fremont, California B.P.P. endorses strike provides food for strikers' families.

October 6, 1970. Washington Heights N.C.C.F. opens in Manhattan.

October 6, 1970. N.Y./B.P.P. worked with Asian group I Wor Kuen, Young Lords and other P.R. groups, as well as grass-roots housing organizations in setting up a housing

crimes trial held at Columbia University B.P.P. and other groups serve as judges.

October 17, 1970. Young Lord Julio Roden is killed while in jail. Harlem B.P.P. participate at Young Lords funeral.

October 15, 1970. New Orleans L.A./N.C.C.F. office/house is attacked by heavily-armed police and F.B.I. agents. They use armored car (tank) in attack. Police and B.P.P. members battle for over 2 1/2 hours before surrendering. Police claimed police agent was discovered and beaten by Panthers. Panthers claimed that after exposing the two police informants, they put them out of the office and 'the community dealt with them'. Before they surrendered, Panthers claim to have heard over police band radio; 'shoot them when they surrender'.

October 17, 1970. Newton holds press conference to call for support of Angela Davis. "She has given in a free and a very pure way, in a way that sets an example for people everywhere".

October 27, 1970. Gary Bumpus is arrested while putting up posters in New Haven, CT., charges are dropped right away. The following day he and others are arrested for same thing; charges also dropped. This type of harassment coincided with massive B.P.P. campaign to free Seale and the New Haven 9.

October 31, 1970. Boston/B.P.P. develops peer drug rehabilitation program called 'Project Concern'.

November 4, 1970. Police raid B.P.P./L.A. child care center, round up children, hold guns on them while they beat up an adult Panther member. Police claim to have been responding to landlord complaint of children in the building.

November 7, 1970. Southern Cal. Chapter Breakfast Program serves over 1,300 meals per week.

November 21, 1970. Boston/B.P.P. free breakfast program serves over 700 meals in a three week period.

1971

January 9, 1971. Article appears in The Black Panther from central headquarters. " ... we must concentrate on the immediate needs of the people, in order to build a unified political force ... survival pending revolution is our immediate task and to do this we must meet the needs of the people ..." signed Gwen Hodges, Central Headquarters, Oakland, California.

January 1971. Oakland chapter opens a shoe manufacturing and repair program.

January 1971. Various B.P.P. chapters in Bay Area, Cal., start day care centers.

January 1971. Dayton, Ohio N.C.C.F./Chapter opens Black Community Information center. The center is open to

the public from 9:00 am to 10:00 pm. A breakfast program as well as political education classes held in center.

January 16, 1970. Toledo, Ohio/N.C.C.F. established a legal assistance program with a 24 hour hot line and free lawyer services.

January 16, 1970. Chicago/B.P.P. medical cadre goes door to door doing check ups and providing preventive health care information.

January 22, 1970. New Haven/B.P.P. opens free health clinic.

January 23, 1970. Huey Newton purges Deputy Minister of Defense for S. Cal., Geronimo Pratt, Wilfred Cruch Holiday, and George Lloyd. All three were involved in the shooting with the L.A.P.D./F.B.I. on Dec. 18, 1969. Since that incident, they have been 'underground' in fear of the police.

Newton claims that Pratt and others put undue demands on the Central Committee of the B.P.P., that he was living high and partying, and that he had threatened the life of Huey Newton. Newton stated in an article "Any party members or community worker who attempts to aid them or communicate with them in any form or manner shall be considered part of their conspiracy to undermine and destroy the Black Panther Party."

Many members, both leadership and rank and file were very confused as to the circumstances of these expulsions.

In the N.Y.C., Harlem branch many members followed Pratt and looked up to him. They felt his practice under fire was good, and his political writings on guerrilla warfare were widely studied in Harlem branch. People in Harlem also knew of Pratt as one with a reputation for party discipline and strong revolutionary principles.

February 6, 1971. The Black Panther had advertisement for "Post Birthday Celebration for Huey Newton and Solidarity Day for Bobby Seale." The event is for 4/5/71. As entertainment, The B.P.P. 'Soul' singing group The Lumpens and the Grateful Dead.

This is the first year the B.P.P. has celebrated Newton's birthday while he was not in jail.

February 13, 1971. Advertisement for above mentioned event but this time the Grateful Dead are headlined. Ericka Huggins, Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee are added as speakers. Now the speakers are Newton and K. Cleaver.

January 1971. Huey Newton visits New York. Upon inspection of Panther offices/houses it is discovered that there is a decrease of at least 60% of the weapons. National leadership is very suspicious.

February 13, 1971. Front cover of The Black Panther; "Enemies of the People". Pictures of Richard Dharuba Moore, N.Y. 21 and leader, Michael Cete Tabor, N.Y. 21 and leader, and Connie Mathews Newton's secretary and former coordinator of B.P.P. European solidarity committee.

Article states that both Moore and Tabor failed to appear in court (for the 21 case, which caused the imprisonment of the other N.Y. 21 members who were out on bail). It also said that Connie Mathews stole all the information for the European solidarity committee as well as some of Newton's important papers. N.Y./B.P.P. rank and file are further confused. People from the community begin to demand explanation as to why these people, particularly Moore and Tabor, have been expelled. The N.Y. leadership are very tight lipped about their position. Many rank and file members leave party. Kim Holder is one of them.

These three are thought to have fled the country.

February 1971. Jamal Joseph N.Y. 21 and leader, also disappears with Moore, Tabor, and Mathews. He is not mentioned in the expulsion article. One of the reasons is that he did not miss a court date since his case had been severed from the others.

February 1971. Eldridge Cleaver issues a statement calling for the expulsion of Chief of Staff David Hilliard and for Minister of Defense Huey Newton to stand trial to determine his revolutionary dedication.

March 1971. While Huey is on a local S.F. T.V. program there is a direct phone hook-up with Cleaver in Algeria. During conversation Newton expels Cleaver and entire International section. Newton also threatens Cleaver. Cleaver calls Huey Newton a 'madman'.

February 1971. A group of B.P.P. members primarily from the East Coast hold a press conference at the Harlem Branch of B.P.P. These Panthers call for the expulsion of David Hilliard and Huey Newton. They recognize chairman Bobby Seale (still in prison), Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver, Communications Sec. Kathleen Cleaver, and Field Marshall Donald Cox as the Central Committee of the B.P.P. This news conference marks the 'split' of many chapters and individual members. New York chapter becomes national headquarters for new Panther faction.

March 8, 1971. Deputy Field Marshal 'East Coast B.P.P.', Robert Webb, Harlem Branch Lieutenant of Information Mark Holder, and other B.P.P. members confront 'Panthers from 'Oakland' faction, selling newspapers on 125th street in Harlem. During a verbal confrontation seven armed people emerged from two vans. They knocked Holder down and shot Webb in the head. Holder and his other companion escaped before they were shot.

A week before this incident the F.B.I. had informed Holder's mother that 'the west coast Panthers were sending 'hit men' to New York to kill New York Panthers.

March 1971. The 1st edition of Right On newspaper is put out by the 'N.Y.' Panthers.

April 1971. Sam Napier, Circulation manager of The Black Panther, is tortured and killed (see discussion later) The East coast distribution of the 'west coast'

Panther paper is stationed on the East Coast, and he was based in Corona N.Y. Oakland faction blames N.Y. faction.

Spring 1971. Black Panther members across the nation began taking sides between the two faction. Of the central committee Both Cleavers, and Cox, sided with the East Coast. Newton, Hilliard, Bobby and John Seale, Douglas, and George Jackson sided with the 'West Coast' faction.

The West Coast faction being the original base of the B.P.P. had far more chapters who aligned themselves with them.

Many former B.P.P. members such as the N.Y. 21, and Pratt were readily welcomed by the East Coast faction and soon assumed leadership position. Many former members who had been expelled, after being arrested for conducting armed acts were being supported by the 'East Coast' faction.

April 1971. Huey Newton speaks before church group, denounces past ultra leftist behavior of B.P.P. Claims B.P.P. had 'defected' from the Afrikan American community. Newton places the blame for past Party practices on Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver.

PART THREE: DEMISE

CHAPTER 11

CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

The Alienation of the New York and Southern California Chapters

The B.P.P. was many things to many people. A number in the government saw it as a violent street gang type group which was led by uneducated angry men and women. Others saw it as a nuisance which was basically a creation of the mass media. Many in the Latin as well as Afrikan American communities viewed the B.P.P. as the most militant manifestation of the desires of the people. A small and very youthful segment of the Afrikan American community regarded the party as the revolutionary vanguard of the liberation movement. The European American left of the 60's and early 70's (especially those from the student movement), also looked to the B.P.P. for militant and radical leadership. Even within the ranks of its membership there was a vast array of motivations and conceptions as to the nature of the Black Panther Party.

There are a number of ways of viewing the Party. There were the programs and platforms of the Party. It is the programs and ideology which illustrate the degree of development of the Party leadership. To what degree they adapted to its rapid growth, were able to absorb members

with very different and in many cases much more experience in organizing the Afrikan American communities? The ability to adapt to the regional differences in conditions, encountered by international expansion. The degree to which they gauged the desires of the people as well as the rank and file and developed programs to address them is an important aspect of any study of the B.P.P.

Another aspect which must be examined is the rhetoric expounded by the Party, particularly by the leadership. Although Party rhetoric did not necessarily match its actions, it nevertheless was the leading factor in the perception that people had of them. Many viewed the rhetoric as violent and offensive and formed a negative perception of the B.P.P. based solely on the rhetoric. Others, on the other hand were attracted by the rhetoric and based their favorable opinion on the militant rhetoric.

The rhetoric attracted enemies as well as allies but it was not a true representation of the actions and practice of the Party. In order to gain a full picture of the B.P.P. one must examine the political development and practice of the rank and file as well as of regional leaders. It was these local people who interpreted the rhetoric and implemented the programs. As in most organizations, it was the rank and file and local leadership which was ultimately responsible for organizing

the party apparatus and transforming the rhetoric and platform into concrete programs/action.

By emphasizing the actions of the rank and file, we do not in any way negate the initial actions of the major leaders such the founding members Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, as well as Chief of Staff David Hillard and Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver. These individuals were highly instrumental in initiating the actions of the Party. They took bold and unorthodox actions which placed their lives in grave danger. They also laid down the rhetoric which was later to guide the Party. By so doing, they had a tremendous effect on the actions of the Party. Their actions inspired and ignited many young militant Afrikan Americans.

Although many organizations, movements, and actions occurred due to the efforts of the anonymous rank and file, within the B.P.P. this phenomenon was especially prominent. The Party was faced from the outset with the prospect of operating without the benefit of its national leaders. Within six months of its inception and following the action which gained them national attention, cofounder and chair Seale was arrested and imprisoned along with other founding members. Before Seale was released from prison, cofounder Newton was shot and imprisoned on murder charges. Less than six months later Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver was also shot and jailed,

while founding member and Treasurer Bobby Hutton was shot to death. Cleaver was later forced into exile to avoid further imprisonment.

On the local and regional level, 21 New York Panther leaders were arrested and charged with numerous serious crimes within the first year of the opening of the N.Y. chapter.

In Chicago, Illinois both Department Chairman Fred Hampton and Department Minister of Defense Bobby Rush encountered numerous arrests within the chapter's first year. Before that year had ended (1969), Deputy Chairman Hampton and a local leader Mark Clark were killed by government agents.

In Southern California both Deputy Minister of Defense Carter and Chairman Huggins of the Southern California chapter were killed by what many Panthers claimed was the result of governmental instigation. Within the following year, Geronimo Pratt, the successor to Carter, had been targeted by the F.B.I. for harassment and other illegal activities. Pratt was ultimately convicted of murder and still remains in jail 20 years later.

The first and even second wave of B.P.P. leadership were systematically removed from the Party ranks by various agencies of the government. This illegal governmental campaign to destroy the Party leadership, although extensive and at times brutal, cannot totally account for

the difficulties of leadership. From the inception the Party leadership was aware that the governmental response would be violent, yet there were few precautions taken.

Although Seale and Newton were aware from past experiences that police watch patrols would cause arrests and for the need for bail funds, they did not raise the funds before engaging in the arrest-invoking patrols (Seale, 1970). The same lack of planning was demonstrated when Seale led a group of Panthers into the State Capitol building in Sacramento.

The Party's failure to take precautions to protect their leadership was not done out of complete ignorance. One of the Party's main principles was the need to educate by example. This stance required leadership to take a participatory role in all activities, especially in the initial building period (1966-1968). In fact, it was the act of placing their individual lives on the line in such a daring and provocative manner which attracted membership and supporters.

Despite this active and daring role taken by the initial leadership, they were never involved in the programs and activities which came to make up the Black Panther Party. These initial activists were quickly physically 'neutralized' by the government. The Party's ability to adapt to the attacks upon their leadership was hampered by a number of factors.

Members of the initial Central Committee and ensuing Central Staff were close associates of Huey P. Newton, with the exception of E. and K. Cleaver. All these people with the above-mentioned exceptions come from the San Francisco Bay area. Most of them grew up with Newton in Oakland, California.

Oakland, a city of 400,000 in 1969, is located on the east side of the San Francisco Bay. The population was 40% Afrikan American. Most Afrikan American families had migrated during or after World War II to work in the war industry. Of these families many came from LA, Texas, and Mississippi (reference).

The civil rights movement of the Deep South had not really touched the Northwestern A.A. communities of Oakland, Fillmore in San Francisco, and Richmond. The nationalist Human Rights movements of Malcolm X and Marcus Garvey equally did not address the 'California experience.' At the same time the European American 'Free Speech Movement' on the campuses was very strong in the early and mid sixties in California.

Newton and Seale were campus activists before organizing the B.P.P. With few exceptions the only members with any experience outside their local area were those Party members who had served in the armed forces. Members such as Bobby Seale, Donald Cox, Landon and Randy Williams, John Seale, Robert Webb, Geronimo Pratt, all served in the

armed services, but returned to the communities in which they grew up, which were Oakland, San Francisco, and Watts, L.A. For some of these veterans the racism of the armed forces was somewhat of an awakening (Seale, 1970; L. Williams, 1989).

The founders of the B.P.P. while inspired by the revolutionary movements in the Third World and the thoughts and spirit of Malcolm X, only experienced campus politics of Northern California, and the segregation experience in the South while serving in the armed forces.

It was these brave, yet inexperienced, people who initiated what was to become an international organization. The lack of historical knowledge about the Afrikan American struggle freed the B.P.P. from old practices and allowed them to develop new methods. An example of this is their stance on white membership. While S.N.C.C. had originally followed the old line civil rights practice of integrated organizations, it was difficult for them to make the transformation to an all Afrikan American group. It was easier for the Black Panther Party to institute Carmichael's notion of Blacks organizing in their communities and whites organizing in their own. The initial refusal to accept governmental funds was another break with other Afrikan American organizations.

The biggest break with traditional civil rights group practices was the Party's focus on recruiting the young

poor unemployed from the northern and western urban centers. Unlike the earlier civil rights movement of the N.A.A.C.P. and S.C.L.C. which enlisted middle-class employed Afrikan Americans, the B.P.P. focused on the same population which Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam did -- unemployed urban Black youth.

Whereas Malcolm X was killed shortly after breaking with the Nation of Islam (in February 1965) and thus unable to implement his programs, and the Nation of Islam was/is a religious organization, limiting their political effectiveness, the B.P.P. was left without a modern day model as how to mobilize and organize such a population.

Once the initial leadership came under attack and the Party took on a national character, the leadership failed to incorporate the skills and knowledge of these new elements. When asked (in 1989) about the provincial nature of the Central Committee and lack of expansion of leadership, Huey Newton responded by stating; "It was due to my paranoia. All of the leadership I knew for over 15 years" (Newton Interview, 7/17/89). This attitude/paranoia extended beyond the Central Committee and staff situated in Oakland.

When local leadership were arrested or were simply not performing up to national standards, the Party would send members from the Bay Area to take and assume control. After the arrest of the N.Y. leadership in April of 1969,

Panthers from the San Francisco Bay area were sent to oversee the operations of the entire East Coast. This inclusion of Bay area leadership on a local level ended only at the February 1971 split, even though some N.Y. leaders were released from jail and others were developed. In the spring of 1969 Landon Williams, George Sams, Roy Huth, Donald Cox and Al Carrol were all sent to the New York area to exercise leadership. These people were later replaced by Robert Bay, Thomas Jolly, and Sam Napier and finally in the winter of 1970-1971, the N.Y. leadership was expelled and Newton himself exercised authority over the N.Y. chapter.

There were many reasons for the conflict between NY and the Bay Area leadership. The lack of indigenous leadership on the local level was one of the major contributing factors to the initial differences of opinions and misunderstandings. Aside from the final contradiction resulting in the split, there were many times when the Bay Area character of the national leadership inhibited the growth of the Party. Take, for example, the issue of cultural nationalism. From the initial organizing on Merritt College campus, Newton and Seale had an aversion to 'Cultural Nationalism.' They defined such nationalists as those who surround themselves in Afrikan artifacts, change their name to one from the Afrikan continent, and dress in traditional Afrikan attire (Seale, 1970). The conflict

between the B.P.P. and U.S. organization in Southern California in the early part of 1969 also contributed to the Party's negative outlook upon cultural nationalism.

The negative perception of cultural nationalism, right or wrong, was based on experiences with West Coast California groups. This perception regarded cultural nationalists from Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, or New York as outsiders. For example, Party leadership was taken aback and confused by the fact that many New York Panthers had Afrikan names and wore traditional Afrikan attire. As a matter of fact many of the originating New York Panthers had long histories in organizations which dealt with Pan Afrikanism and cultural nationalism.

The lack of understanding of nationalist sentiment in New York resulted in national headquarters barring New York Panthers from participating in events such as the Afrikan and Afrikan American Unity Day Marches. National also forbade Panthers from displaying the Red Black and Green flag which represented Afrikan American nationalism.

By reacting to their limited experiences with cultural nationalists and forbidding work with such forces, the national leadership limited the New York chapter. This hurt the New York chapter in its organizing efforts and isolated them from an important ally and historical link to militant activities (Joseph Interview, 1988).

The lack of regional representation in the national leadership inhibited organizing priorities. In New York, one of the major issues confronting the Afrikan American communities were (and still are) inhuman housing conditions. Although point number four of the Ten Point Program and Platform called for 'decent housing fit for shelter of human beings,' many local Panthers felt unable to concentrate on such issues. Before the arrest of the NY 21 in April 1969, members worked extensively on issues of housing (Joseph, 1988; Adams, 1988; McCeray, 1989; Interviews). Panthers belonged to neighborhood housing groups and organized them where there were none. When members of the NY 21 were released from jail they began to notice a shift of organizational emphasis. No longer was housing a major issue; rather, activities such as the free breakfast, clothing, and medical programs had replaced the community coalition building around housing (Joseph Interview, 1988).

The geo-social differences between New York and the San Francisco Bay Area can also be seen in another housing issue. In the early stages the Party developed a policy in California of housing members in Panther houses. These houses were usually one or two family dwellings. Initially, they were either rented or donated. As a result of the demand for bail collateral, Newton came up with the idea of the B.P.P. purchasing these houses. By owning

these houses the Party not only eliminated rent and landlord hassles, they also had property to use for bail without taxing Party resources (Landon Williams Interview, 1989).

This plan, although very resourceful and adaptive to particular conditions, was of little use in New York, where the price and availability of real estate was astronomical.

Many of the initial programs of the Black Panther Party were specific to the conditions of the Oakland/San Francisco Bay Area. The public display of arms is a perfect example of the local nature of the founding members' programs. While it was legal in California to publicly display loaded firearms, it was against the law in locales such as New York, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, and Boston, making the Oakland-type armed patrols impractical. Although this particular program was short lived even in Oakland it exemplified the types of programs developed by the founding Oakland/San Francisco members/leaders.

Within the limitations of the Party leadership to address the national concerns of the organization, many regional and local leaders did emerge. In Southern California, Bunchy Carter was a moving figure in the establishment of the first chapter organized outside of the Bay Area. When he was assassinated in January of 1969, Geronimo Pratt assumed the leadership and went on to

establish a strong and militant Southern California chapter. Geronimo also was a strong voice within the B.P.P. in expanding the Party's concept of self-defense to address the increasing governmental attacks. He was a leading advocate of organizing extra legal units to defend the Party from attacks.

Geronimo's influence extended beyond the Southern California chapter. His writings appeared frequently in the Party newspaper, and he often toured the country speaking. Following the December 1969 attack on L.A. B.P.P. facilities and the ensuing five-hour defense of these facilities by Southern California Panthers, Geronimo's stature within the Party and among many rank and file was heightened. Not only had Geronimo organized a strong chapter and spoken of armed self-defense but he also developed and educated the chapter cadre in a manner that heightened their ability to successfully defend themselves. The performance of the L.A. Panthers on December 8, 1969 was particularly stimulating to rank and file Panthers throughout the nation since less than two weeks before the Cook County States Attorney Hanrahan in cahoots with the F.B.I. murdered Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton.

Hampton was another dynamic regional leader. Joining the Chicago B.P.P. in the spring of 1969 from the N.A.A.C.P., Hampton went on to forge working relations with

major street gangs such as Black Disciples, Black Stone Rangers, Young Lords, Young Patriots. In the case of the P.R. Young Lords, the Illinois Chapter was instrumental in forging a national political coalition with the politically developing Young Lords Organization.

Richard Dhoruba Moore and Michael Cetewayo Tabor of the New York Chapter and members of the N.Y. 21 both demonstrated strong leadership ability. Like Carter in L.A., Dhoruba had the ability to organize and educate the young unemployed youth, to form them into a disciplined political unit. Aside from being a founding member of the N.Y. chapter, Dhoruba was one of the most respected leaders among the rank and file during the period of the N.Y. 21 trial.

From the time Michael Tabor was released on bail (in the 21 case), he became a leading speaker and theoretician for the Party. Of the major works he wrote, his analysis of the drug problem, 'Capitalism plus Dope equals Genocide', the Military Industrial Complex became the official Party positions. During the People's Constitution Convention and the plenary sessions Tabor aroused crowds. When Newton toured the East coast Tabor usually opened for him.

The remaining N.Y. 21 members who remained imprisoned throughout the trial functioned as a collective unit. Most of their articles and statements were signed by the group.

This group constituted a political and organizational force within the B.P.P.

The N.Y. 21 were the founding members of the N.Y. chapter. They had a long history of community organizing throughout N.Y. (New York Panther 21, 1972), although they were incarcerated and isolated from the development of the N.Y. chapter they commanded a tremendous amount of support from rank and file as well as the Afrikan American community at large. Aside from the tremendous support and funds which their case generated, the N.Y. 21 were instrumental in organizing the various New York City jails. They organized the prisoners to struggle for improved living conditions. During their incarceration there was a coordinated rebellion in every jail in N.Y. (The Black Panther 1/16/70:4) .

These are just a few examples of regional leaders who demonstrated national leadership qualities yet were not elevated to such positions. Local New York leader and member of the N.Y. 21, Jamal Joseph, stated:

In 1988 that there was a meeting in 1969 in which Geronimo Pratt, Fred Hampton, Dharoba Moore, Michael Tabor, among others met in Harlem to discuss their dissatisfaction with the direction of the Party, particularly with the national leadership (Joseph Interview, 1988) .

Details and collaboration of this meeting are unavailable to this author, but I choose to include this piece of information because it supports much of the

information obtained in my interviews with various former Black Panther Party members.

The B.P.P. became statewide, then national after Newton was incarcerated. The original rank and file members of 1966 till late 1967, were no longer in the Party. It was the mobilization around Newton's trial that propelled the Party into a national organization. From 1968 on, the members who built the Party - both leadership and rank and file - had little or no contact with Newton. With the exception of those on the Central Committee or central staff who had grown up with Newton, most members knew him only as a legend.

The image of an armed Newton became a symbol of armed radical/militant Afrikan American. The Party used this image to mobilize international support for both Newton in particular and the B.P.P. in general. For both followers and members alike, Newton became bigger than life, with only one year's worth of experience and practice as a Panther/activist. Newton became a kind of cult figure who represented both the efforts of the Black Panther Party and other militant/radical individuals and organizations. It was the idea of Huey rather than his deeds which mobilized support for his defense. Seale and E. Cleaver on a national level directed a campaign which ultimately not only made Newton internationally known but made the Party a household name in the United States. In the process of

rallying support for Newton the Party, it placed too much trust and faith in a figure who had not participated in the building of a national organization.

In an interview in 1989 Newton himself acknowledged his concern with the isolation of being in jail. In this interview Newton stated that he tried to refrain from decision making while incarcerated (Newton interview 1989).

Regardless of the accuracy of Newton's recollection of events and past intentions, he did in fact give orders or at least orders were given in his name. Executive mandate number #3, calling for Panthers to arm and defend themselves against illegal police raids, was issued while Newton was in prison. There were numerous other directives which Party rank and file thought had come from Newton. Whether Newton took an active role in decisions during his incarceration is not as important as the perception of the members. As evidenced in numerous articles and interviews of members, Newton was looked upon as the main leader of the B.P.P. as well as of the Afrikan American revolutionary struggle.

The status of Newton grew as he remained in jail. An indication of the mystifying of Newton was the constant quoting of him in the Party newspaper and by other members, and the ever present pictures of Newton throughout the newspaper, including the front page. As an organizing tactic the Party held annual Free Huey Birthday rallies.

These were very successful in mobilizing support, raising needed funds for his defense, and keeping his name and predicament fresh in the people's minds. One problem with the practice of celebrating Newton's birthday was that it continued after he was released from jail (The Black Panther 3/6/71:10).

The progression of titles afforded Newton is another indication of type of status Newton held within the Party. Initially, Newton choose the title Minister of Defense; later this was changed to Supreme Commander, and again to Supreme Servant of the People.

There is little evidence that Newton himself chose to place himself at the center of the B.P.P., prior to his release from jail in August of 1970. What is clear is that many discontented members (both rank and file and local leaders) had placed a tremendous amount of confidence in Newtons' ability to lead the Party. Many former Panther members have stated that their attitude prior to Newtons release was 'wait until Huey gets out' (Right On 4/3/71:3).

Instead of raising the contradictions to the existing leadership, most regional and local leaders as well as the rank and file took a wait-and-see attitude/Dissension within the ranks and the Split' within the B.P.P.

All organizations experience dissension and power plays and the Black Panther Party was no exception.

There is evidence that as far back as early 1969, regional leaders such as Geronimo Pratt, Fred Hampton, and representatives of the N.Y. chapter met in Harlem to discuss their dissatisfaction with the direction in which the Party was going (Joseph Interview, 1988). Much of the discussion centered around the control that the central staff in Oakland had over the organizational priorities of the chapters, and the growing cliquish behavior of those in Oakland. There is little evidence that much was resolved at this meeting.

For over a year and a half following that meeting individual members struggled with national headquarters to democratize the Party leadership. In that period Hampton was killed by police, Pratt was imprisoned facing murder charges and was expelled from the Party, as were the majority of the N.Y. leadership.

There was an almost complete turnover in the N.Y. rank and file. Many of these new members knew nothing of the party work prior to 1969. In fact, many of these new recruits joined the Party out of support and idolization of the B.P.P., rather than a commitment to organize and lead the Afrikan American community. Many followed orders and displayed "complete loyalty" to the Party and its leaders.

On the other hand, there was another younger group of people who joined. These young members had no love affair with the California leadership. Their motivations in

joining had little to do with Seale and Newton's actions in 1966-1967. Rather, they were products of the 1960's, either from the streets or a history in Afrikan American struggle. These members were looking not for the B.P.P. per se, but for a revolutionary organization to join (M. Holder Interview, 1989).

This combination of loyalists and revolutionaries made up the majority of the rank and file in N.Y. during 1970.

Rank and file members in New York were becoming increasingly suspicious of how the resources of the Party were being used. This issue arose in New York especially because of a few specific conditions within New York. New York City accounted for about one third of all the newspapers sold. In a two-week period in 1969 the N.Y. chapter received 35,000 out of 108,000 newspapers printed each week (H.C.I.S.:4992). And in this same period the New York chapter sent \$13,000 out of the \$38,700 received by national headquarters (H.C.I.S.:5071).

When N.Y. Panthers continued to return from California with reports and stories of the high living of the national leadership (Joseph, 1988), this created much uneasiness within the Party ranks. They were willing to sacrifice for the people but resented that others were benefiting from it (Adams Interview, 1989).

During this same period almost the entire leadership of the N.Y. Chapter were being held on \$100,000 bail. Add this high bail to the ongoing cost of surviving in N.Y.C., and it is understandable that members such as Malika Adams who was the Brooklyn Branch bookkeeper felt; "Money went out to the West Coast ... we were not sending all our money out to the West Coast -- I remember that being one of the controversies ... But we had to keep money to get people out of jail, we weren't going to send all our money out there ... I don't think it was a order until Huey mandated it ... I began to realize that there were a lot of things that were happening that were unprincipled, especially around the monies. Here we were living in poor conditions in Brooklyn and the Party hierarchy were living very high off the hog ... " (Malika Adams Interview, 1988).

The public news that Newton was living in a \$650 a month apartment (Right On, 4/3/71:3) was a shock to many rank and file members who daily worked over eighteen hours on Party programs without the benefit of adequate clothing or food.

As Malika Adams stated it was the unprincipled practices of much of the leadership which turned off many members. In the Party the basic principles (the values which dictate one's actions) were geared toward serving the people and building a revolutionary movement. This meant that members (both leadership and rank and file) were

required to personalize the politics and behavior of the Party. This required total sacrifice to the masses and the revolution. It also meant that all members were to live their lives based on the ideas which they were struggling for. One was to share and to be non-oppressive towards others.

The perceived high living of many West Coast leaders contradicted the notion that the rank and file was as important as the leadership. For many, the explanation of Newton living in such an exclusive neighborhood was not consistent with the principle of 'The Party being fish who lived and operated among the sea of the masses.'

Aside from the obvious contradiction of the standards of living of New York members and national leadership, many of the rank and file in New York were dissatisfied with the unrelenting pressure to sell newspapers. Most members were unaware of the discrepancy between their sales and those of other chapters, (Joseph Interview, 1988; Assata, 1987) but they nonetheless were unhappy with having to commit most of their efforts towards selling papers. In the Harlem Branch during 1970, each rank and file member was expected to sell 200 papers a day. The organizing activities of 1968 and 1969 were no longer the priority. Newspaper sales took the place of door-to-door organizing. Aside from the Party programs such as the free breakfast, clothing, and medical clinics, the rank and file's major contact with the people

was in the context of selling them something. This, to most members, was very unprincipled.

Many members were forced to abandon the Afrikan American community in search of more affluent customers in order to meet their quota. Individuals such as Harlem member, Mark Holder, who could sell 200 papers a day within the Afrikan American community were looked upon as good Panthers and as in Holder's case more inclined to be promoted than those who did not sell as many (M. Holder Interview, 1989). I am not saying newspaper sales were the only work or criterion for promotion because it was not. It was, however, the most pressing daily activity for the rank and file.

On the political front, members found little consolation in the direction the Party was taking. Following Newton's release in, August, 1970 he presented a number of confusing messages as to the direction he wanted the Party to go. In one of his first public statements, (at William Christmas and Jonathan Jackson's funeral), he indicated that the party would follow the example of these two men and expand the methods of securing the release of political prisoners. Yet, a few weeks later he committed rank and file members to fight in Vietnam. These conflicting moves by Newton did little to resolve the growing internal conflict over armed self defense (see Chapter 3).

Aside from the lack of resolution of the issue of self defense, there were other issues which were confusing. In shifting away from a revolutionary nationalist perspective of struggling in one's own community and demand for self determination, the Party had introduced the concept of revolutionary intercommunalism. At a time of rising nationalist sentiment among Third World peoples, and the massive military might of the United States focused on halting nationalist endeavors in South East Asia, Southern Afrika, Central America as well as among the youth of the domestic Third world, the Party was introducing a concept which negated the nationalist consciousness of these struggles.

This theory of intercommunnalism which was developed by Newton was not in line with the thinking of most militant Afrikan Americans, including B.P.P. members. In fact it contradict the core support within the A.A. community, namely nationalists in the tradition of Malcolm X and Marcus Garvey. It pushed the Party further away from the nationalist camp and placed it in with the New Left. This is evidenced by Newton's eagerness to discourse with European philosophers.

By late fall 1970, it became apparent to many rank and file that something was wrong with both the direction in which the Party was heading as well as with the behavior of its national leaders.

Conditions in the N.Y. Chapter made many members sensitive towards the growing problems, but they hesitated to act on their discontent immediately. Like many members throughout the nation, quite a number of discontented members simply left the Party rather than attempting to change it. Others voiced their confusion and disillusionment.

Initially, local leaders reacted to the rank and file complaints by officially toeing the Party line. They attempted to make excuses for national leaders, attributing the problems to the government's attacks on the Party and the absence of the imprisoned leaders (Assata, 1987).

Gradually the rank and file began to demand answers. Mark Holder described the level of discontent among those in his command;

I bit my tongue, and waited ... But I could not ignore the rank and file discontentment. They were daily confronting me on the contradictions. There was a complete breakdown within the rank and file. Their attitude was we are still Panthers because we are revolutionaries ... (but) ...fuck the national leadership, who are they ... (M. Holder Interview, 1989).

During the fall of 1970, local leaders shuffled back and forth from the West Coast attempting to deal with the various contradictions. The reaction of the Oakland leadership to this attempt at resolving the problems was to become very defensive. N.Y. leaders began to be placed in situations which isolated them from both the rank and file,

as well as the community. At least one official gag order was issued to Dhoruba Moore for unauthorized statements to the press. Oakland leaders in N.Y. began to engage in a smear campaign amongst the members against the indigenous N.Y. leaders (M. Holder Interview, 1989).

Jamal Joseph stated that on one trip he made to Oakland, members of the national inner circle attempted to get him to renounce Dhoruba Moore and assist them in their attempt at isolating him. As a reward for his deeds Joseph would be given a high ranking position (Joseph Interview, 1988).

After the expulsion of major respected leaders such as Elmer Geronimo Pratt (Southern California Chapter), Randy William (Northern California Chapter), and the entire remaining imprisoned N.Y. 21, hope for rectifying problems through normal channels was abandoned.

By the time Huey came to N.Y. in January 1971 the rank and file and leadership of the N.Y. chapter were planning a coup. For the first time local leaders began to confide in the rank and file. They began enlisting them in the plot to expel the unprincipled elements of the national leadership. For example, the entire Washington Heights N.C.C.F. office was enlisted into the conspiratorial actions of the local leadership.

This attempt at a coup was organized in the N.Y. chapter but included members from throughout the nation.

Middle level leaders such as Robert Webb (San Francisco), Randy Williams (Oakland), Michael Hill (from West Coast but local leader in Detroit), parts of the Pennsylvania, Southern California, and New Jersey chapters also helped plan the coup.

Initially, the focus of the discontent was placed upon Chief of Staff David Hilliard and members of his inner circle (June Hilliard, John Seale, and the other members of the Central Committee), began to confer with the discontented forces on the east coast. One of the prime issues for Cox and the Cleavers was the fact that they were members of the Central Committee and yet were not consulted on the latest purges of local leaders, even though the purges were issued in the name of the Central Committee (Right On Newspaper, 4/3/71).

Before a January 1971 visit by Newton to N.Y., it was rumored that he was going to order New York to begin a process of disarming its members. Upon his arrival and inspection of Party facilities, he discovered that the majority of weapons in the New York chapter had been mysteriously removed (Holder 1989; Joseph, 1988; Interviews). By February of 1971, the rank and file of Harlem were burning issues of The Black Panther in the streets (Bukhari Interview, 1988).

In March of 1971, the rebellious members called a news conference at the Harlem Branch. During the

conference they charged Hilliard and his group with unprincipled and corrupt behavior and called for their expulsion (Right On, 4/3/71). A few days after the news conference, Eldridge Cleaver and Newton engaged in a trans Atlantic argument which was aired live on a San Francisco radio Station.

The full printed text of the conversation between Cleaver and Newton as well as other documents by both factions on the split are in the Appendix.

CHAPTER 12

GOVERNMENTAL CAMPAIGN TO DESTROY THE PARTY

The fact that the U.S. government, particularly the F.B.I. and U.S. Attorney General's office, waged a campaign against the B.P.P. has been documented in various publications, court records, and congressional testimony. The F.B.I. had documents outlining its illegal efforts against the B.P.P. This chapter examines the scope and manner of this governmental campaign, as well as its effect on the programs and activities of the B.P.P.

1966-1967 Local Encounters

The Oakland police Department was the first law-enforcement agency to target the Black Panther Party. Although the Panthers were legally armed, the police department consistently harassed and arrested the Party members (Newton, 1973:121).

Within the first six months of the Panther's existence the Oakland police made the B.P.P. a main target. During this period, for example, Huey Newton's car was stopped over one hundred times. Each time the police spent over 15 minutes searching the car for any form of violation (Newton, 1980). Individual police officers repeatedly attempted to provoke Panthers into illegal

acts. One tactic was to use profanity against Party members in an attempt to incite the Panthers into cursing. If they succeeded in provoking the Panther to use profanity, the police would then arrest them since the use of profanity towards a peace officer was illegal in the city of Oakland (Newton, 1973).

The police harassment, although fairly consistent, was until May 1967 confined to the local department in the San Francisco Bay Area. Although individual Bay area police officers engaged in consistent harassment of B.P.P. members there is no evidence of organized interdepartmental cooperation. For the most part such activities involved individual police officers.

Evidence of a broader effort to impede the B.P.P. came with the introduction in the California State legislature of the Mullford Bill. This bill introduced by State Rep. Mullford's measure was labeled by many as the 'Panther bill'. It called for the repeal of the statute allowing citizens to carry loaded firearms in public.

Unlike the local police reaction which was predicted by the founders of the Party (Newton, 1973), the impending Mullford Bill for the first time forced the Party to change its direction and abandon the police watch patrols. The outlawing of public possession of firearms in effect forced the Party to decide: abandon its armed stance or its legal activities. Discontinuing the patrols was not as

important as the fact that the Panthers could no longer bear arms in public. Thus, the Mullford Act not only was responsible for eliminating the Panther patrols but also the disarming or criminalizing of the B.P.P.

The last legal armed act of the B.P.P. was the armed protest at the California State capitol in Sacramento. Although this act was responsible for propelling the B.P.P. into the national consciousness, it also signaled the end to the public display and legal use of weapons.

The May 1967 Sacramento action also produced the first serious arrests of B.P.P. members as well as added involvement by the California Parole Board. As a result of arrests in Sacramento, Bobby Seale and two other Panthers served up to six months on charges of disruption of government process (Seale, 1970). Eldridge Cleaver was called before the California Parole Board for violation of his parole (Cleaver, 1969). Although Cleaver was successful in avoiding return to prison, limits were placed on his political activities.

... severe new restrictions were to be imposed. (1) I was not to cross the Bay Bridge. (2) I was to keep my name out of the news for six months; specifically, my face was not to appear on any TV screen. (3) I was not to make any more speeches. (4) And I was not to write anything critical of the California Department of Corrections or any California politician. In short, I was to play dead, or I would be sent back to prison. 'All that Governor Reagan has to do,' I was told, 'is sign his name on a dotted line and you are dead, with no appeal' (Cleaver, 1969:7).

With the involvement of the Governor, state senators, Parole Board, State Courts, as well as the local police departments of Sacramento and the bay area, it became obvious that the B.P.P. was no longer the sole responsibility of the Bay area police departments. Now State agencies were also involved in suppressing the B.P.P.

It should be pointed out that during this period there were no incidents of Panther misconduct with their firearms. There is no evidence that Panthers fired even one shot during the period of their patrols. The restrictions placed on Cleaver were clearly meant to halt his work as the Minister of Information of the B.P.P.

By the Fall of 1967, various party members had been disarmed, imprisoned, and silenced. Efforts to stop the Party had now taken on a statewide character. In Oakland, the police were ordered to stop all Panthers whenever possible. Known Panthers and their cars were listed in each Oakland squad car (Newton Interview, 1989).

The constant local police harassment and the statewide crackdown on Panther activities qualitatively changed on October 27, 1967. On this date, while leaving a party at the house of B.P.P./B.S.U. member James Garret, Newton and two other people were stopped by Oakland police. The policeman approached Newton's car, calling him by name. According to Newton he was told to get out of the car and was then shot three times in the stomach (Newton

Interview, 1989). Following his shooting Newton passed out. When he came to he was in the Oakland Hospital and one police officer was dead and another wounded. Newton was charged with first degree murder.

The shooting and arrest of Newton marked a deadly escalation in the State's activities against the B.P.P. It also left the Party with all three of its main spokesmen (Newton, Seale and Cleaver) effectively out of the political scene. During the following year the Bay area police departments, particularly Oakland, San Francisco, and Berkeley, began to mount a series of raids on Panther homes. In most of the incidents illegal weapons were cited as the reason for the raids (Seale, 1970). It was a result of these raids that Huey Newton issued Executive Mandate number #3 in which he called for Panthers to defend themselves and their homes (Foner, 1970:40, The Black Panther, 6/2/67).

It was at this point that the party realized it was at war with the government. Despite the increase of police activity against the B.P.P., the party did not draw the attention of the national police (F.B.I.) until 1968. By this time the party had been in the national news with guns, Newton was in jail on murder charges, and Bobby Hutton was dead.

Accompanying these violent events was the rapid growth of the party. By late 1968 there were Panther

formations in New York, Northern and Southern California, Seattle, Washington, Chicago, Ill., and Omaha.

Physical attacks on Panthers

The disarming of the B.P.P. by the introduction and passing of the Mullford act coincided with an escalation of incidents of shootings of Panthers by local policemen. The Newton shooting was the first of a long list of documented incidents of a police-Panther confrontations which resulted in deaths.

As was stated earlier, Newton claims to have been unarmed on October 26, 1967 when he was shot. Since the officer who was killed in that incident was shot by his partner's weapon it is safe to assume that Newton was in fact unarmed at the time he was confronted by police (Newton Interview, 1989).

Less than six months after the Newton shooting, National Minister of Finance Bobby Hutton was shot and killed by Oakland police. This incident involved at least eight B.P.P. members; yet between them they had one .22 caliber rifle (Cleaver, 1969:88). As a result of this encounter Hutton was killed, while Cleaver and another Panther, Warren Wells, were wounded. No police were injured.

This action followed months of police raids and arrests of Panthers throughout the Bay area on the pretext

of searching for illegal weapons. During this period Father Neil's church was raided numerous times by the Oakland police, (The Black Panther, 2/21/70:2), the Cleavers' home in San Francisco was also raided, as was the Seales' Berkeley apartment (Seale, 1970:223). In all these incidents the pretext was the illegal possession of firearms.

It is my conclusion that by 1968 the Bay area police agencies as well as other state agencies effectively disarmed the B.P.P. and then proceeded to use deadly force to halt Party work. There is little evidence that these early actions in California were coordinated or instigated by federal authorities; that came later in 1968.

What is clear is that police activity against the B.P.P. coincided with its political activity. Clearly, these actions influenced the direction of the B.P.P.

The early 1968 police actions against Party members coincided with the Party's mounting campaign to gain publicity for Newton's legal defense. All the above-mentioned incidents occurred during the planning of major fund-raising events (Seale, 1970:230).

In addition to the killing by police of a human being, the wounding of three others, and the arrest of numerous Panthers, the harassment of Party members and the obstacles to their efforts took a variety of forms. On one level rank and file Panthers were constantly being arrested

for passing out leaflets, selling newspapers, as well as constantly being stopped while in cars (The Black Panther, 2/21/70:3) .

On a more sophisticated level, Seale was arrested by Berkeley police and charged with conspiracy to commit murder for allegedly threatening to kill S.N.C.C. leader H.Rap Brown. This arrest occurred only hours after the B.P.P. and S.N.C.C. had made a public alliance and three S.N.C.C. leaders were drafted into the B.P.P.

The circumstance surrounding the arrest and the fact that the charges were dropped a short time later indicated that the police were attempting not only to harass Party leadership by tying it up in legal battles, but to isolate the Party from other militant groups (Seale, 1970:223) .

The F.B.I.

The local efforts of the government although effective in creating obstacles for the party, were not successful in destroying the organization, nor were they able to halt its growth. The Party continued to expand, patrols were replaced by breakfast programs, and Kathleen Cleaver, Bunchy Carter, Landon Williams and Erica Huggins emerged to take up the slack of those imprisoned or otherwise silenced.

By 1968 the Party's growth and continued militancy drew the attention of the director of the F.B.I., J. Edgar Hoover.

With this addition a new phase of governmental harassment was initiated. No longer was it necessary to have a legal pretense for targeting the B.P.P. The F.B.I. brought a more coordinated and political perspective to the war against the B.P.P. Local police departments continued their attacks throughout the period of 1966-1971, but evidence shows that by 1968 the F.B.I. was beginning to spearhead a national effort to destroy the Party.

In a November 1968, interdepartmental memo, director Hoover ordered F.B.I. offices "to exploit all avenues of creating ... dissension within the ranks of the B.P.P." Hoover went on to encourage agents to " ... submit imaginative and hard-hitting counterintelligence measures aimed at crippling the B.P.P." (Memo captioned; Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalist Hate Groups, Racial Intelligence (Black Panther Party), taken from Churchill, 1988:63).

By 1968, the F.B.I. had been involved in spying on the Afrikan American, Puerto Rican and Communist political movements within the United States (see Churchill, 1988; Blackstock, 1988; O'Reilly, 1989; and Newton, 1980). Under the title of Counter Intelligence Program the F.B.I. engaged in illegal wiretapping, surveillance, and leaking

false and personal information on leaders such as Martin L. King, Jr. One of the main tactics used on King and S.C.L.C. was to fabricate evidence linking them with the Communist Party U.S.A. One F.B.I. deputy director wrote Hoover soon after Martin Luther King's 1963 'I have a Dream', March on Washington. In his letter the deputy director stated: "King was ... the most dangerous Negro leader of the future in this nation from the standpoint of communism, the Negro and national security." He further suggested that it would "... be unrealistic to limit ourselves as we have been doing to legalistic proofs or definitely conclusive evidence ..." (Churchill, 1988:130).

In 1967, the F.B.I. began focusing efforts on the burgeoning militant Afrikan American liberation movement. The agency developed a counterintelligence program targeted on "Black Nationalist Hate Groups". Hoover wrote:

The purpose of this new counterintelligence endeavor is to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of Black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership and supporters.

One year later Hoover went more into detail as to the methods to be employed:

... prevent the coalition of militant black national groups ... prevent militant black national groups and leaders from gaining respectability ... Prevent the rise of a black messiah who would unify and electrify the militant black nationalist movement. Malcolm X might have been such a messiah; he is a martyr of the movement today Martin Luther King,

Stokely Carmichael and Elijah Muhammad all aspire to this position. Elijah Muhammad is less of a threat because of his age. King could be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed 'obedience' to 'white liberal doctrines' (nonviolent) and embrace black nationalism. Carmichael has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way (Churchill, 1988:58).

By the time the F.B.I. became aware of the Black Panther Party, they had already devised a program to destroy any successful Afrikan American human rights organization. By November 1968, the Black Panther Party became the primary target of law enforcement agencies in the U.S. The F.B.I.'s COINTELPRO was employed on the B.P.P. after the major leaders were already under attack by local and state agencies. In fact some of their leaders, such as Illinois' Fred Hampton, were targeted by the F.B.I. before they became active in the B.P.P. In 1967, the Chicago F.B.I. field office was instructed to open a file on Hampton, who at 19 was a leading member of a local N.A.A.C.P. youth chapter (Churchill, 1988:64).

Politically Motivated Attacks

The basic rationale of the F.B.I. was not potential or actual criminal activities on the part of the B.P.P. and other militant organization; rather, it was the political positions and degree of support which influenced the F.B.I.'s choice of COINTELPRO targets.

The former Assistant Director of the F.B.I. in charge of the intelligence division wrote in 1974;

Rome lasted for six hundred years, and we are just coming on to our two-hundredth. That doesn't mean that we have four hundred to go. We have to step back and look at ourselves protectively ... How much of this dissent and revolution talk can we really stand in a healthy country? Revolutions always start in a small way ... Economic conditions are bad; the credibility of government is low. These are the things that the homegrown revolutionary is monitoring very closely. The FBI's attention must be focused on these various situations. If it weren't the Bureau wouldn't be doing its job for the American people ... The American people don't want to have to worry about the security of their country ... We must be able to find out what stage the revolution is in (FBI An uncensored look behind the Walls quoted from Newton, 1980:54) .

The emphasis of the FBI on the political rather than criminal activities of the B.P.P. is illustrated in the activities of the Chicago field office of the F.B.I. which was instructed to take steps to prevent the merging of the street gang Black Stone Rangers and Illinois chapter of the B.P.P. This was in spite of the fact that the B.P.P. was attempting to engage the Rangers in such community activities as the free breakfast program (O'Reilly, 1989:303) .

Agents from the Chicago FBI office began a disinformation campaign by sending threatening letters to the Rangers suggesting that the B.P.P. was going to physically harm them. These letters were made to read as though they had been written by concerned members of the

community. One such letter addressed to a leader of the Blackstone Rangers stated:

The brothers that run the Panthers blame you for blocking their thing and there's supposed to be a hit out for you. I'm not a Panther, or a Ranger, just black ... I know what I'd do if I was you ... (Taken from Churchill, 1988:64). An interesting added aspect of this disinformation effort was that the FBI had decided against sending the B.P.P. such threatening letters because ... it is not felt this would be productive principally because the B.P.P. at present is not believed as violence prone as the Rangers ... (From O'Reilly, 1989:305).

Not only does this imply that the FBI was attempting to provoke violence between the Rangers and the Panthers, it also illustrates the fact that even the FBI did not believe that the Chicago B.P.P. was violent. Although they did not believe that the party could be tricked into a war with the Rangers, it was the Party that the FBI was interested in destroying.

In Los Angeles, the local FBI also came to the conclusion that the Los Angeles B.P.P. chapter was not susceptible to being tricked into violent warfare (Churchill, 1988). The evidence of its own words and deeds indicate that the FBI was interested in destroying the B.P.P. because it posed a political rather than criminal threat to the government. Instead of preventing criminal acts the FBI was interested in engaging the party in criminal acts and destroying its community support.

Attacks on Community Programs

Nowhere is the political motive of the FBI's actions against the Party clearer than in the Bureau's attitude and actions towards the free breakfast program. The counterintelligence department issued this response to the San Francisco FBI's questioning of targeting the breakfast program:

Your reasoning is not in line with Bureau objectives ... You state that the Bureau ... should not attack programs of community interest such as the B.P.P. 'Breakfast for Children'. You state that this is because many prominent 'humanitarians,' both white and black, are interested in the program as well as churches which are actively supporting it. You have obviously missed the point. The B.P.P. is not engaged in the 'Breakfast for Children' program for humanitarian reasons, including their efforts to create an image of civility, assume community control of Negroes, and to fill adolescent children with their insidious poison (O'Reilly, 1989:302).

Further evidence has been documented pointing to FBI sabotage of the B.P.P. breakfast program. One of the first actions taken against the breakfast program was to create a climate that suggested that the Party was teaching children to hate and kill white people, especially police. In late 1968 or early 1969 the B.P.P. developed a political coloring book. Among the images in the book were pictures depicting Afrikan Americans killing policemen. Before the book was widely distributed the Party decided against its use. It feared that it would be used as evidence of their attempt to indoctrinate the children. The FBI, wanting to

create such a situation, secretly distributed the coloring book themselves and used it as evidence that the Party was teaching children to kill (O'Reilly, 1989; Churchill, 1988).

In fact the campaign to discredit the breakfast program was one of the major reasons the Party did not engage in many educational activities at their breakfast program. In discussing the first programs developed in 1968, Field Marshal Landon Williams talked about the Party's awareness of the dangers in educating the youth in the program: "We flirted with a liberation school type thing but then there were things in the press about Panthers indoctrinating kids. So we said let's not do that here, we want this to be about dealing with hunger ..."
(Landon Williams Interview, 1989). Because of the campaign by various forces to discredit the program the Party decided that the education of children had to be done in a completely separate program. The Party was forced to develop liberation schools because of the media campaign waged by the FBI. To engage in extensive educational activities in the breakfast program would have given ammunition to those attempting to discredit the program.

Since the survival programs were in part educational tools for the community, the lack of educational activities within this program was a deviation from the Party's

objective: that of winning the people over through meeting their basic needs.

The F.B.I. and other law enforcement agencies also spread rumors throughout communities where Panthers had breakfast programs that the Party was poisoning the children (Safyia Bukhari Interview, 1988). Local church officials, store owners, and landlords were pressured and intimidated into denying the use of their facilities for programs. In Detroit, Michigan, the local FBI distributed forged letters threatening local businessmen if they did not donate to the B.P.P. programs (O'Reilly, 1989:316; The Black Panther, 2/21/70:25).

When all these methods failed to destroy the programs, various agencies resorted to physically attacking the facilities. In 1968, at the first breakfast program which was established in Father Neil's Church, the Oakland police department raided the church while Panthers were serving breakfast. The police claimed to be looking for illegal weapons. Two Panthers who were present have stated that the Party never allowed weapons to be present while children were around (Williams Interview, 1989; conversation former Panther Ronald Stevenson, 1989).

One of the interesting things about the governmental activities against the Party is that although in late 1968 the F.B.I. spearheaded a counterintelligence campaign, not all activities were connected to COINTELPRO. As documented

earlier, local agencies were involved in independent actions against the B.P.P. With the participation of the F.B.I., many of these independent actions were incorporated into a national program. As a matter of fact although the B.P.P. documented 32 members killed as a result of law enforcement activities, no Panther has ever been killed by an F.B.I. agent (Churchill, 1988).

The counterintelligence program against the B.P.P. focused less on direct confrontation and more on clandestine disruption and sabotage of Party program initiatives. This does not mean that the F.B.I. was uninvolved in actions resulting in the deaths of Party members.

The Chicago Chapter and the FBI

The most celebrated case of criminal activity by police against the B.P.P. was the killing of Chicago deputy chairman Fred Hampton. F.B.I. documents contain evidence that they-the F.B.I.-were the motivating force behind the entire episode.

The F.B.I. approached the Cook County sheriff's department with information that the B.P.P. was stockpiling weapons. (In fact, it was a secret F.B.I. informant acting as the Party's local security chief who was both stockpiling weapons and providing the police with the information.) The Cook County authorities, however,

refused to act upon the information. When encouragement by the local FBI office proved unsuccessful, the agency approached the Illinois state's attorney who was a personal acquaintance of one of the agents. States Attorney Hanrahan agreed to act upon the information provided by the FBI.

One of the crucial elements in the planned raid on the Panther house was the information provided by FBI informer William O'Neil. As evidenced in both FBI records (O'Reilly, 1989; Churchill, 1988; Newton, 1980) and police records, O'Neil was the single most responsible individual for the arming of the Chicago Panther facilities. Not only was O'Neil the security captain for the chapter and personal bodyguard for Hampton (Churchill, 1988). But he also was the main instigator in convincing Panthers of the need to increase the Party's firepower. In fact, O'Neil was arrested on December 12, 1968, January 1969, March 1969, April 1969, and June 1969 before the December 1969 raid. In most of these cases O'Neil was arrested on charges involving firearms (The Black Panther, 2/21/70). O'Neil was also responsible for encouraging members to purchase an illegal automatic rifle. As a result of O'Neil's attempt, Chicago Panthers Nathaniel Junior, Merrill Harvey and Michey White were arrested on conspiracy to buy a 'machine gun' (Churchill, 1988, The Black Panther, 2/21/70:11).

The actions of O'Neil in the period leading up to December 1969 strongly implicates him and the FBI (whose secret agent he was). His goal was to entrap Party members in illegal activities, specifically the illegal possession of weapons.

The warrant obtained for the December 1969 raid which resulted in Hampton's death was issued upon O'Neil's information that illegal weapons were present. The evidence shows that O'Neil was the one who ordered the guns to be in the house.

Following is an excerpt from the search warrant application submitted by the states attorney office:

A reliable informant, who has furnished reliable information to affiant on several past occasions which has led to the confiscation of 2 sawed-off-shotguns in two separate raids, and has provided information that has to several convictions ... he observed numerous weapons, including sawed-off shotguns, whose barrels appeared to be approximately 12 inches in length. Independently of this above information (State police Sergeant) Daniel Groth was informed by (FBI Agent) Jolovec that on December 2, 1969, Jolovec had a conversation with a reliable informant who also stated that sawed-off-shotguns and other weapons were being stored in the first floor apartment ... This informant, according to Jolovec has provided information in the past which has led to the arrest and indictment of numerous individuals (Clark, 1973:233).

The state police informant and FBI informant named in the warrant application were in fact the same person, FBI agent provocateur William O'Neil (Churchill, 1988:70).

O'Neil's participation in the raid extended beyond agent provocateur. He provided the FBI with a detailed map of the layout of the Panther apartment. He also informed the FBI of who regularly came to the house and in which rooms they usually stayed. Testimony from the survivors of the raid have also indicated that Hampton appeared to be drugged prior to the raid. This was speculation since Hampton was reported to have fallen asleep in the middle of a phone conversation. Since it was O'Neil who cooked that night, if in fact Hampton was drugged it would most likely have been O'Neil who administered the drugs (Churchill, 1988:71, 402).

O'Neil further sabotaged the Chicago chapter of the B.P.P. in his capacity as security chief. Under the pretense of securing Panther facilities O'Neil devised elaborate torture devices and plans to secure the various Panther offices and apartment. Although most of his plans were rejected by the chapter's leadership, O'Neil actions caused much dissension and disruption. (Churchill, 1988:399). Given his rank in the chapter O'Neil had quite a bit of influence with the membership. This is evidenced in the fact that numerous members were arrested based upon actions he convinced them to participate in.

On the night of December 3, 1969, the states attorney's police under the direction of the FBI secretly put the finishing touches on their planned raid. While

this was occurring B.B.P. members Fred Hampton, Deborah Johnson, Blair Anderson, Doc Satchell, Harold Bell, Verlina Brewer, Louis Truelock, Brenda Harris, and Mark Clark were at a Panther apartment eating dinner prepared by FBI informer O'Neil.

Shortly after 1:30 a.m. O'Neil left the apartment. Hampton talked to his mother on the phone and while in middle of a sentence he fell asleep. The other Panthers in the house also went to bed while Mark Clark served as security watch.

At 4:00 a.m., fourteen states attorney police officers armed with a submachine gun, five shotguns, and a carbine rode in three unmarked cars and a telephone truck to the Panther apartment. When the group was three blocks away they radioed the Chicago police and requested back up. This was the first notification to the Chicago police of the raid. Once at the apartment eight officers entered through the front and six the back (Clark, 1973:37). One policeman kicked in the front door, shooting Mark Clark who had fallen asleep in a chair. As Clark fell dead apparently his finger pulled the trigger of the shotgun he was holding. This was to be the only shot among the 90 shots fired which came from a Panther gun. As Clark laid dead another officer shot Brenda Harris who was sleeping in the front room. After shooting these two Panthers three officers began firing into the wall which separated

Hampton's room from the front. They shot forty-two rounds at the location O'Neil had stated Hampton would be sleeping. As the front team shot into Hampton's room, the rear team entered the apartment also firing in the direction of Hampton's room. The shooting stopped and cops entered the rear room. Surviving Panthers have stated they heard the following exchange: "'That's Fred Hampton ... Is he dead? ... Bring him out. He's barely alive; he'll make it.' After this two shots were heard and then 'he's good and dead now'" (Churchill, 1988:71).

After dragging his body into the front room, the police continued to fire at the remaining Panthers. Doc Satchell was shot four times, Blair Anderson and Verlina Brewer were shot twice. The surviving Panthers were then arrested on attempted murder charges (Clark, 1973; Churchill, 1988:71; O'Reilly, 1989:310).

The following morning's Chicago Tribune displayed a photo of a large cache of weapons which the police claimed to have taken from the house. Under the photo in small type the paper mentioned that Clark and Hampton were killed in a secret Panther headquarters.

Immediately the press began to print the statements by officers involved and states attorney Hanrahan.

On December 5, 1969, a day after the killings, the Chicago Tribune printed this account of the raid:

Detectives knocked on the first floor apartment door at 4:45 and Detective Groth said a woman's voice asked who was there and he announced.

'Police officers with a warrant to search the apartment.'

He continued: 'I repeated the Knock, then forced the door open with my shoulder. As we entered the apartment we were met with a shotgun volley fired by a woman who was on a bed in the living room. I returned the fire with my revolver.'

The other detectives had dropped to the floor when they heard the shotgun blast which it was later learned saved Groth's life. The blast illuminated the dark room and police noticed Clark near the doorway with a shotgun pointed at Groth. An exchange of shots followed and Clark fell to the floor ... Groth said that the other occupants of the apartment in two bedrooms off the living room then open fired at the police. Ciszewski (a police officer) was wounded a few minutes later ..." (Chicago Tribune, 12/5/69).

In the years that followed the December 4, 1969 raid, numerous investigations and inquiries have concluded that the police/FBI were solely responsible for the shooting (Clark, 1973; Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations; Intelligence Activities Book II, April 23, 1976 [also known as Church Committee]).

In the weeks following the raid the state's attorney attempted to mask the truth about the raid. Press conference after press conference was called to paint a picture of the B.P.P. as a violent group. In these events, however, the FBI was conspicuously left out of all discussions and criticism. In fact, the state's attorney office and State police took all the weight for the actions of December 4, 1969. It wasn't until 1976, when the

surviving Panthers and relatives obtained FBI files (during their civil suit against the state filed in 1970), that the full role of the FBI came to light (Churchill, 1988:399).

For the federal authorities the events of December 4 were initially a complete success. Directly following the death of Hampton, Illinois FBI agents sent an 'urgent' teletype to director Hoover informing him that Hampton and Clark were dead and the surviving Panthers faced attempted murder charges (Churchill, 1988:73). Initially they received public support from many public officials for their "bravery" and restraint in raiding the Panther house. In order to reinforce their claim of proper conduct, the states attorney's office pressed the indictments of the surviving Panthers. Continuing to use O'Neil as an informant, the FBI was able to gain information of the Panther's defense strategies. O'Neil also continued to act as a provocateur by spreading the rumor that another Panther member was the informant (O'Reilly, 1989:312).

By arranging the assassination of Fred Hampton the F.B.I. had not only dealt a serious blow to the Illinois chapter but also to the national leadership of the B.P.P. During the fall of 1969 Fred Hampton had been increasingly engaged in discussions with national Party leaders as to the direction of the Party. It had been speculated that Hampton was to assume a national position in the Party

(Chicago Tribune, 12/12/69; Churchill, 1988; O'Reilly, 1989). It is doubtful that Hampton was going to assume a position on the Central Committee (see Chapter 11), but it is clear that he was a major figure in the Party, both in Illinois and nationally.

By killing him the F.B.I. eliminated a gifted organizer and one of the rising young leaders in the B.P.P. The death of Hampton, however, also had a positive effect in lending support to the Party's claim that the government was out to get them.

In the week following Hampton and Clark's murders, the Chicago B.P.P. conducted public tours throughout the apartment in order to allow people to view the work of the government. In the days following the raid thousands upon thousands of community people toured the scene. Five thousand people attended Hampton's funeral while many politicians and other public figures, both Afrikan American as well as European American, began to question the actions of the state. Directly following the raid, Ramsey Clark, the former United States Attorney General under President Johnson, and N.A.A.C.P. head Roy Wilkins formed the Commission of Inquiry into the Black Panthers and the Police. Formed to investigate the raid on the Panther house, the commission was asked by the U.S. Attorney's office to delay their investigation because of impending federal proceedings. In fact, Clark and Wilkins stated in

the report that the "Government was uncooperative, if not hostile" (Clark, 1973:XI). The report was published in 1973, prior to the publication of F.B.I. documents. Even without the benefit of FBI files the Commission's final report stated the following conclusions:

(1) Those responsible for planning the raid 'acted with wanton disregard for human life and the rights of American citizens.' (2) Search warrants (if legal) 'could have been executed in a lawful manner with no significant risk to life.' (3) The hour of the raid, the failure to give responsible warning to the occupants, the overarming of the police, the widely excessive use of gunfire, all were more suited to wartime military commando raid than the service of a search warrant. (4) There can be no possible legal or factual justification for this police use of firearms. There was no shoot-out. The police did virtually all, if not all, of the shooting. (5) Police should not use machine guns. (6) Many statements made after the episode by participating officers ... are not credible. (7) Hanrahan's statements that police 'exercised good judgment, considerable restraint, and professional discipline, ... The immediate, violent criminal reaction of the occupants in shooting at announced police officers emphasizes the extreme viciousness of the Black Panther Party ... ' render him unworthy of public trust. (8) Failure to employ basic investigative practices such as fingerprinting and preserving evidence, photographing the bodies before removal, as well as errors in ballistics tests and autopsies, 'are professionally inexcusable and can only undermine the confidence in the competence and integrity of the police and the legal system.' (9) The 'exclusive' account of the police action given ... to the Chicago Tribune, and the filmed re-enactment of the episode by police for CBS-TV, demeaned public office, misinformed and prejudiced the public and violated professional ethics. (10) Federal, State and Local justice institutions 'failed to do their duty to protect the lives and rights of citizens' (Clark, 1973:VII).

The planned setup and execution of Hampton was a temporary disaster for the FBI's COINTELPRO, especially in the Chicago area. Instead of creating a unsympathetic public attitude towards the B.P.P., the raid created just the opposite. Organizations such as the N.A.A.C.P. which had previously attacked the B.P.P. were now accusing the government of murder (Chicago Tribune, 12/5/69; Clark, 1973).

In the long run, the murder of Hampton proved to be extremely effective in contributing to the crisis in the national leadership of the Party. Hampton was in fact one of the brightest and energetic young Panther leaders. He possessed many of the qualities which made for a strong national leader. First, within the context of internal Party politics, Hampton was respected by members throughout the nation. He had a history of struggle before joining the Party. He worked his way up through the ranks and thus he had a firm grasp of the community. Unlike many of the national Party leaders, Hampton retained a close relationship with the rank and file.

As mentioned earlier, in the months leading up to his assassination, Hampton had been working with national Party leaders in an attempt to generate new support for the organization. He was one of the few outside the Oakland clique whom National was willing to work with. If he had not been killed, it is possible that Hampton could have

been instrumental in averting the alienation and conflicts within the Party which intensified in the year following his death.

In the context of the movement in general, Hampton demonstrated the ability to forge working relations with a wide range of groups. Aside from his work with the Black Stone Rangers, Hampton was also instrumental in developing coalitions with the local S.D.S., Young Lords, and Young Patriots. Hampton was for all practical purposes a leading candidate for developing into the 'black messiah' that Hoover so alarmingly instructed his agents to guard against.

In the long run, the loss of Hampton denied the Party and the movement a dedicated and extremely popular organizer. Hampton's death also signaled a new attitude within the B.P.P. Although on the defensive long before December 1969, following the Chicago raid chapters across the country began fortifying their facilities. In Harlem, the plate glass windows were removed from the storefront office and replaced with steel-reinforced wood with portholes (Assata, 1987; Holder, 1989; Interviews). Panthers became increasingly alert towards the possibility of governmental attacks.

December 8, Raid and the Southern California Chapter

As mentioned in the chapter on armed self-defense, the Southern California chapter, under the leadership of Geronimo Pratt, had already begun to implement new tactics in resisting police/FBI attacks. During the December 8, 1969 raid on the L.A. offices, the Los Angeles Police Department encountered extreme resistance. Party members held off an attack force of over 200 for more than four hours without any casualties, despite the fact that the police used the then newly formed Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) assault teams. The raiding party was equipped with assault rifles, dynamite, an armored personnel carrier, and helicopters (O'Reilly, 1989). The helicopter was there to prevent the community from coming to the support of the Panthers. As a matter of fact the night following the raid, Angela Davis and others organized a vigil outside the Panther main office. During the vigil the police attacked and the people were forced to flee in all directions. Davis has stated that at that point immediate neighbors provided sanctuary to the fleeing Panther supporters (A. Davis Interview, KPFA/Berkeley, 8/28/89).

The planning of the Los Angeles raid was strikingly similar to that of the Chicago raid. Instead of O'Neil, in L.A. there were at least two infiltrators who held leadership positions in the Southern California Chapter.

One was Luis Tackwood and the other was Melvin Cotton Smith. It was Cotton (security officer for the L.A. branch), who provided the L.A.P.D. and F.B.I. with detailed blueprints of Party facilities. As was the case in Chicago, the L.A. warrant which was to authorize a search for stolen military weapons was obtained under false information provided by the FBI. As in Chicago, Pratt the local leader and rising national figure was the primary target of the raid. The plan even called for the police to focus gunfire at Pratt's bed; however, Pratt was sleeping on the floor at the time (Churchill, 1988:84).

In the months leading up to the December raid Pratt had become a target of the F.B.I./LAPD. He was arrested numerous times for weapons possession, conspiracy, and assault. Most of these charges were without substance to prosecute and they were dropped. Clearly, the government was creating a climate in which to assassinate Pratt in the manner of Hampton and Clark.

The difference between the Chicago and L.A. raids is that Pratt and his cadre were prepared to defend themselves and therefore they survived with raid. Upon their surrender, thirteen Panthers were charged with attempted murder, conspiracy and weapons charges. Pratt spent two months in jail until he was released on bond.

Daily Harassment

The government's campaign against the Party did not deter members from continuing to struggle. Members, especially those who joined after 1968, were fully aware that the government would use any and all methods necessary to destroy the party.

Party offices were raided almost on a monthly basis. It was common to have the front page of the Party newspaper covered with local police (from any city) in a crouching positions with riot helmets, pointing shotguns and semi automatic weapons at a Panther office.

Party members had become accustomed to being under the constant watch of either local or federal authorities. In cities such as New Haven, Oakland, L.A., Chicago, Philadelphia and New York, rank and file members were arrested on a daily basis for performing such tasks as selling papers, postering a community, or speaking in public. In New Haven, for example, sixteen year old Panther Gary Bumpus was arrested for putting up posters and then re-arrested the following day with another Panther for selling newspapers. In the summer and fall of 1969, another Panther, Bobby White from the Seattle branch, was arrested and beaten up five times. In Southern California, in the three months leading up to the December 8th raid, Panthers were arrested on a daily basis with most of the charges being dropped within a week (The Black Panther,

2/21/70:2-26). In the early days in Oakland the main excuse for harassing members was automobile or traffic violations. Later on, in cities where cars are not as prominent such as New York, the selling of The Black Panther newspaper became the primary pretext for local police action. As in the cases of the L.A. and Chicago raids, The FBI was partial to using the search for illegal weapons as an excuse for attacking Party facilities.

Changing Tactics, Being Driven Underground

Once the Chicago raids occurred members across the country increasingly began to develop alternative methods to counter the government's response.

Although Panthers such as Connie Mathews, Michael Tabor, Donald Cox and the Cleavers, decided to seek asylum in Afrika, most Party members were inclined to remain in the United States and continue to struggle on the 'home front'. By late 1969 it had become obvious to many members that to remain above ground and to continue to challenge the government was suicidal.

Party members such as Geronimo, Cet, Webb, and Assata Shakur, had come to understand that the government was not acting in a legal manner and they realized that they could not continue to perform their political work and ensure their own safety. The government left the Party members with few options as to their course of action. For many it

came down to withdrawing from political activities that the Party was engaged in, particularly renounce armed struggle and self-defense. Another option was to develop an underground apparatus that could initially provide some security and shield from the government's activities. As George Jackson stated, this underground would eventually also serve to protect the political workers who continued to be exposed to the illegal actions of the government.

It is the latter choice of developing an underground that many of the survivors of the L.A. raid, New York Panther 21, and others took upon being released from jail.

Once underground, communications with the Party leadership were made abnormally difficult by the COINTEPRO-inspired dirty tricks. One of the major tactics used was to develop conflicts between those underground or in exile and the national leadership. False and misleading letters were sent by the F.B.I. to those in Algeria, criticizing the actions of those in Oakland (Churchill, 1988). Under leadership of the FBI, various intelligence agencies developed numerous schemes to test the loyalty of various Party members. For example, the FBI would send anonymous letters to Eldridge Cleaver criticizing Newton; then they would monitor to see if Cleaver would inform Newton of the letters. This was also done to other members of the central committee, such as David Hilliard. Once the FBI

identified those less susceptible to criticism, they would work to create further suspicions.

Similar disinformation campaign were also used against those members underground or imprisoned. Although there were many organic problems within the B.P.P. the government antagonized them and helped them grow. In fact, the F.B.I. claimed responsibility for creating the split within the Party and also caused the deaths of at least two long standing dedicated B.P.P. activists, Sam Napier and Robert Webb (Churchill, 1988; O'Reilly, 1989).

This use of instigation was also used earlier on. In 1968-1969, the FBI and LAPD engaged in a campaign to create a war between the Southern California chapter and the US organization (a self proclaimed black cultural nationalist organization, headed by Ron Karenga. US was primarily in L.A. and San Diego, but had ties to Leroy Jones in Newark, N.J.) .

The FBI mounted an anonymous letter campaign against both groups, attempting to incite inter-group warfare. On January 17, 1969, after a long period of government instigation, two Southern California chapter leaders John Huggins and A. Bunchy Carter were assassinated on the U.C.L.A. campus. At the time the B.P.P. and US organizations were organizing Afrikan American students. Both groups were competing to head up a lecture series sponsored by the cultural center/B.S.U. The assassinations

occurred right after Carter and Huggin's presentation to that body.

Nationally, 28 Black Panther members were killed by police, and over 1,000 were arrested and tried for serious offenses. The attacks on the Party were widespread. There were local police and other government agencies that acted independently and at time in conjunction with state or federal forces. There were even a number of instances of off-duty police officers attacking Panthers and Panther offices.

There is also evidence that the Central Intelligence Agency and the Internal Revenue Service were involved on spying and disrupting the actions of the B.P.P.

As of 1989, there are many former Panthers who remain in exile or imprisoned for their activities while in the Party. Elmer Pratt remains in prison for his 1972 conviction for the murder of two people in 1968. It should be pointed out that the murders took place in Southern California while Pratt was in Oakland attending a leadership meeting. During this period the FBI had the national office in Oakland under electronic surveillance, but during Pratt's trial the FBI first attempted to conceal they had surveillance on the Oakland office and when that failed they said that the tapes of the period in which Pratt was to be in Oakland were mysteriously missing.

B.P.P. members John Spain who was with Jackson when he was assassinated and was charged with the murder of a prison guard in 1972 was just recently released. N.Y. 21 member, Michael Chet Tabor now lives in exile after jumping bail fleeing the country due to threats on his life. Donald Cox also lives in exile due to charges pending against him. Bradley Green is still in jail for the shooting of a 1970 Chicago police officer.

For all the members who remain in jail or exile there are five times as many former Panthers who were either forced out of the Party and driven underground or who joined the movement when the only alternative was to work underground.

The case of Dhoruba Moore who along with Michael Tabor were forced into hiding as a result of FBI COINTELPRO activities, is one which exemplifies the former B.P.P. members who were targeted by the F.B.I. while in the Party but fell victim to COINTELPRO after they no longer were members (N.Y. Village Voice, 9/19/89:10).

In the wake of the Party split, dissident N.Y. Panthers Dhoruba Moore, Michael Tabor, Jamal Joseph, Connie Mathews, Mark Holder, and others went into hiding to avoid conflict with the Oakland-based Panthers. Although the differences between the two factions were many, as in the case of the B.P.P./US conflict, the FBI was very instrumental in escalating the hostility and turning what

could have been a non-antagonistic contradiction into a violent one.

Aside from the forged letters and fake phone calls, the FBI also utilized more complex and deadly methods and tactics. In Northern California, FBI/L.A.P.D. informer/agent, Melvin Cotton Smith participated in the set up and false labeling of S.F. Panther Fred Bennett as a police agent. (This practice is called 'bad jacketing'.) Furthermore there is evidence that Smith participated in the execution of Bennett by Panthers (Churchill, 1988). To make the scheme even more disruptive to the Panthers, following the death of Bennett the FBI spread the rumor that members of the Oakland leadership clique killed him for personal reasons (Mark Holder Interview, 1989; Churchill, 1988). This rumor was one of the reasons cited by a couple of the dissident N.Y. Panthers as to why they felt they had to act against certain leaders. Even factual items such as Newton's expensive Oakland apartment were used by the FBI to create dissension in the Party ranks.

As indicated above, in February 1970, the mother of Harlem branch Field Lt. Mark Holder was visited by the FBI and informed that the Oakland faction had sent gunmen from California to get him. On the surface the FBI action could appear to be an attempt at averting violent conflict. The facts, however show a different motive.

Although Holder and Deputy Field Marshal Robert Webb were attacked (Webb was killed) by Oakland faction Panthers, in conversations with former members from coast to coast this author has been told repeatedly that those responsible for Webb's death did not come from California but from the Northeast. Another interesting thing is that although the FBI had surveillance on these so-called Oakland gunmen, there is no evidence of anyone ever being arrested or even questioned in connection with Webb's death. As a matter of fact, directly following the incident, Holder -- Webb's companion and comrade -- became the target of the F.B.I./N.Y.P.D. investigation. From the moment Holder became the target of the states investigation he went underground, not in fear of the Oakland faction, but in fear of the FBI/NYPD (Holder Interview, 1989).

Assata Shakur, a relatively new member of the Party (in 1971) but a personal friend of many of the N.Y. chapter leadership, was also targeted by the F.B.I. Her house, phone, and whereabouts were under constant government surveillance until one day when she was stopped by a friend on her way home and informed that the police had just raided her house (Shakur, 1987:233).

Isolated from the Party and hunted by the government, Moore, Joseph, Holder, Shakur, and others began to implement political activities while underground. Following the example of Geronimo Pratt, these members

refused to be sitting ducks for the government. They also refused to retreat from the political activities. No longer able to function in the B.P.P. or openly at all, many former East coast Panthers formed a underground armed group, the Black Liberation Army. Two of the major foci of their new efforts in New York in the two years directly following the split were the police and drugs in the Afrikan American communities.

Although there were many problems within the Party which led to these individuals being isolated from the Party, there is much evidence that the F.B.I. had at least equal impact on the manner in which things turned out.

Following the split, the FBI continued surveillance of the Oakland Party. Local police continued their surveillance on Party members. Newton, especially, remained the major target of the government. By 1972 the FBI was no longer the primary agency operating on Newton. The Oakland police and California parole board, joined by federal agencies such as the Internal Revenue Service (IRS), once again became the primary source of intelligence and harassment activities (Newton, 1980).

The FBI officially discontinued its COINTELPRO against the Party in 1971, claiming success. In its place the government created new programs such as NEWKILL CHESROB and PRISACTS to continue their operations against former Panthers, imprisoned Panthers, and other radicals.

NEWKILL was designed to work on Black Liberation Army police killings; CHESROB to capture former Panther Assata Shakur; and PRISACT in the prisons against former Panthers and BLA members (O'Reilly, 1989:332).

The B.L.A. grew out of the B.P.P. and its original founders were members of the Party; it was not, however, part of the B.P.P. Many members such as Newton rejected the actions of the BLA (Newton Interview, 1989).

Unlike the B.P.P., the B.L.A. was an armed underground political group. It was not confined to legal methods in its actions. The B.P.P.'s position was that it was an armed political organization which organized the community. Self defense was one of the issues it worked around. The B.L.A., on the other hand, was developed as a response to the effective disruption of the Black liberation movement by the government. Through their own experiences these people had come to the conclusion that it was suicidal to remain on the defensive. The founders of the B.L.A. abandoned the community programs because they saw that the government was not going to allow them to continue their work above ground. People also began to see the violent nature of the government and concluded that defensive methods in the strictest sense were not effective.

Today, many former Panthers have held that the move to go underground was not successful in the absence of

support from the community. In fact, they continue, the community did not understand such actions. They have also stated that at the time many felt they had no real choice but to go underground (Malika Adams, 1988; Joseph, 1988; Syfia Bukhari, 1988; Interviews).

Although the B.P.P. believed that armed struggle was a legitimate tool, most members also believed that it was the masses of people who in the long run would wage war on the government. George Jackson also discussed the need for a people's army to protect the Party from the government (Jackson, 1972). By the middle of 1971 the B.P.P. was in such organizational disarray and on the defensive that it was no longer an effective, above-ground organization.

Rather than preventing criminal activity, the government waged a prolonged campaign to force the B.P.P. away from legal activities. Instead of infiltrating the Party to prevent violence, the government saturated the Party with agent provocateurs whose only task was to incite violence. The F.B.I. saw the B.P.P.'s politics of militant self-determination as a threat to the status quo, and therefore implemented a program of destruction.

CHAPTER 13

CONCLUSION

When one analyzes and evaluates the work of the B.P.P., it is necessary not to be overly influenced by the relative shortness of its existence. For all practical purposes, as a national organization it lasted for some four years. The party grew rapidly from a tiny local Oakland group into a international organization in a matter of two years and disappeared in another two years. Within that period, the party produced a variety of programs and championed many ideas which attracted many people, particularly third world youth.

In its initial stages, the primary goal of the B.P.P. was to incite the rebellious spirit of the Afrikan American community. As Newton stated: 'To engage the occupying forces (the police) in a war and then have the people in the community join in' (Newton Interview, 1989). This confrontational approach towards organizing led to the police patrols, the Sacramento protest, and the continuous armed defense of members and facilities. It was their belief that the urban rebellions of the middle and late 1960s, indicated that the Afrikan American people (at least the youth), were at the stage of open rebellion. Given this analysis of the political consciousness of the people,

the original founders believed that the people would ultimately join in the struggle against the armed forces.

The lack of immediate response by the masses was disappointing. Newton stated in 1989 that by 1969 it became obvious to him that the community was not going to physically defend the Party, and therefore he advocated an end to the practice of defending Panther facilities (Newton Interview, 7/17/89).

The establishment of a organization which openly advocated armed self defense attracted many who were disillusioned with the polite and nonviolent tactics of the civil rights movement. The B.P.P. channeled the youthful rage which precipitated the urban rebellions into constructive, organized political action. Armed defense of the community and programs was a concept which had not been used in a political fashion by Afrikan Americans in the northern urban centers. The Black Panther Party injected armed struggle into the modern Afrikan American human rights struggle.

Although there was nothing revolutionary or even illegal in the Panthers' initial use of weapons, it profoundly affected the consciousness of United States society. Those Black and white who identified with the system and government, who were generally satisfied with the status quo, were highly intimidated by the sight of politically armed Afrikan Americans. For many

disfranchised within American society, particularly Afrikan Americans and Latin Americans, the B.P.P. was a shining example of the strength, pride, and determination of the domestic third world communities. A year following the Panthers' armed action in Sacramento, students at the Ivy League school, Cornell University, occupied a building on campus and openly displayed weapons.

The use of weapons as a political tool in twentieth century America was a critical historical development within the Afrikan American human rights struggle. Although Malcolm X advocated armed self defense and alerted Afrikan Americans to the real possibility of the necessity of weapons, he did not implement a plan of action in this area. In the southern states there were groups such as The Deacons for Defense and Robert Williams' N.A.A.C.P./Rifle Club, but these were small local efforts geared primarily towards combating vigilante violence. These groups did not challenge the government and did not publicize nor politically advocate armed struggle.

It was the B.P.P. that stared down the Bay Area police and it was the Party which refused to back down from the onslaught of governmental violence. The B.P.P. introduced into the political arena a tactic which the activists before them had completely rejected. Once the Party developed, non-violence was no longer synonymous with Afrikan American struggle.

The use of arms as a political tool in the struggle for human rights is one of the aspects which distinguished the Black Panther Party from any other national Afrikan American or progressive organization. During the middle sixties to the early seventies, there were many local groups and dynamic individuals throughout the nation who shared with the Party a similar philosophy, but it was the B.P.P. which came to be publicly identified with such politics.

Human Rights and Third World Liberation

The Party was the major force in establishing ties with other third-world liberation struggles in countries such as Vietnam, Guinea Bissau, Congo, and Palestine. These ties were not just in the form of mutual support but were also expressed through politically tying the struggle for liberation in other parts of the world with the struggle for human rights in U.S. society.

Following in the footsteps of DuBois, Garvey and Malcolm X, and others, the B.P.P. attempted to internationalize the plight of Afrikan Americans. They did not view the problem as a matter of domestic civil rights; rather, the Party interpreted the oppression of Afrikan Americans and other third-world people within the U.S. as part of the economically exploited and politically dominated domestic colonized people. For the Party racism

was less of a root cause of the social ills as the lack of self determination and economic domination within the communities of Afrikan American, Native American, Latin American, Asian American, and poor European American people.

By 1968, with the dropping of 'for self defense' from its title and the establishing of survival programs, the Party began organizing around the basic needs of the community. The Party remained confrontational but as it grew activists engaged increasingly in grassroots organizing geared more towards education and organizing the people rather than simply inciting them.

The original concept of the survival programs was to organize and educate the community by addressing immediate needs. The goal was not to eliminate hunger altogether, but to demonstrate to the people that there were ways to address their needs. The programs of the Party more than anything else were an example of the power, resources, and spirit of Afrikan American potential. It turned community control and self determination into a reality or at least a genuine possibility.

Unlike the civil rights movement which concentrated upon legislative and court proceedings, the B.P.P. survival programs allowed working-class Afrikan Americans to actively participate in the struggle for human rights.

The Party programs, however, were not entirely based upon the concept of self help. Although stressing community control and self determination, the B.P.P. also strongly believed in criticizing the United States government and capitalist economic system. While addressing the needs of the community, the Party consistently drew attention to the fact that the government was responsible for the inhuman conditions.

It was this two-sided approach to education and organizing which presented the essence of the B.P.P.'s work. The Party was not merely feeding children and clothing the poor, but also teaching that the government/system was responsible for their plight and should be transformed.

The combination of confrontational politics and successful examples of self determination made the Party a prime target of the government's repression. For the government saw the Black Panther Party as a threat not so much for its potential for violence and allegedly criminal activities but rather because the Party was educating the community towards self determination, thus presenting a potentially major challenge to the status quo.

In one sense the B.P.P. grew too fast for it to establish the type of community support that would insulate/protect its programs. When the Party became a target of the government many people were attracted to

its militant response, but just as many and probably more were willing to allow the Panthers to serve as a buffer between the community and the police.

With increasing attacks by the government the Party was forced to focus attention on its own survival. By reacting to the state's tactics rather than planning strategy, the Party was never able to fully develop programs. Although wanting to shift focus from self defense to community-survival programs, the government had forced the party to concentrate upon self defense. This did not allow the B.P.P. to develop and redefine the objects and direction which had been underway.

The Party did attempt to function and set its own agenda independently of government repression. This is illustrated in its refusal to be forced underground or even establish an underground apparatus in the face of the repression. This refusal was an indication of the Party's belief that a revolutionary organization must always be accessible to the masses of people; that such an organization could only develop support and educate the people by becoming known throughout the community. This position led the Panthers to continue openly working on various programs and advocating armed self defense. Tied to the process of establishing community programs, many members and the Party as a whole found it difficult to adapt to ever-increasing governmental attacks. An example

of this is the fact that many rank and file members who were hunted by the government would not go underground but simply moved to another state and continued to openly function as Panthers.

It was not until 1970 that party members began to openly question the wisdom of being sitting ducks for the government. The Party as an organization never relinquished its position as an above-ground organization, and thus continued to leave itself open to government attacks.

The lack of organizational adaptation to the repression and an inability to clearly define objectives and plans do not diminish the accomplishments of the B.P.P.

Grassroots Youth Organizing

Aside from the historical significance of the use of arms as a political tool, the historical legacy of the B.P.P. is that it was a national grassroots organization which refused to compromise its politics to please European America. The Party placed the Afrikan American community at the center of its work. Major support came from poor working-class youth. The Panthers' attempt to organize the Afrikan American community around community control was unprecedented in the modern human rights movement. Not since Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association had a political organization focussed its

organizational efforts on the working class of the Afrikan American community. The Party was one of the first to address the alienation and hostility of the urban youth of the late 1960's. Although they engaged in massive protests against the imprisonment of their members, their major organizing technique was to work within the community. With their militant confrontational style, the Party attracted those who were no longer willing to be patient and polite in their protest. The Party provided a voice to those young people who had no faith in the United States system and were tired of pleading for justice. For many in the Black community the Party and its programs were a source of pride because the Panthers attempted to provide the most disfranchised a voice and organized remedy for their despair. Prisoners, homeless people, welfare parents, drug addicts, the unemployed, and students all found a voice in the B.P.P., because the Party claimed to represent the 'downtrodden masses'. By identifying themselves with the poor of the community, Panthers attempted to place the masses of the Afrikan American community at the forefront of social change. They attempted to educate primarily through example, hopefully demonstrating that the spirit and energy of the masses of people was stronger than the government's. The Party's survival programs were developed in an effort to empower the disfranchised.

Although the Black Panther Party never had more than 10,000 members, and its programs could only reach a limited number of people, its members represented a movement whose influence reached far beyond their own efforts. In actual physical terms, the Black Panther Party was highly instrumental in drawing attention to the necessity for social programs within poor communities. The free breakfast program was the single most influential, and served as a model for the United State Department of Agriculture's school nutritional program. The community health clinics and health cadres also were an innovation which have since been taken on by the government. The success of these programs combined with the Party's militant stance in part forced the government to develop similar programs in order to erode the support of the Panthers.

The B.P.P. was also instrumental in effecting a slight change in police/community relations. Although presently there continues to be a large number of incidents of police brutality within third world communities, there has been since the 1960's the establishment of community civilian review boards and an increase in third world representation on urban police forces. The fact that police brutality remains a political issue within the Afrikan American community is due in part to the politicalization of police conduct by the Black

Panther Party. The Party, through its actions and the experiences with the government, also changed the manner in which many people perceived law-enforcement agencies of the country.

The Panthers were also instrumental in the development of the human rights movement within U.S. prisons. This movement has made tremendous strides in eliminating the obscurity of the prison conditions. The movement has allowed many prisoners to establish contacts with the outside community as well as further access to the legal system.

Despite the numerous social changes that the Party contributed to, the most significant aspect of its survival programs cannot be measured adequately in this manner. More than meeting the needs of the oppressed and exploited Afrikan American community, the Party established a model through which the needs of the community can be addressed. The Party's Ten Point Platform and corresponding programs are concrete examples of how to address the needs and desires of the community. The experience gained through these endeavors presents many positive lessons for future organizing efforts. This is the Party's longest lasting and most significant contribution to change within this society.

If the goal of the Black Panther Party was to lead the people in a revolutionary transformation of the major

institutions of this country, or even to gain social justice for oppressed people, then one might conclude that it failed. It is my conclusion that this is far from being a correct analysis. To be sure, the Party claimed to be the leadership of the militant and revolutionary youth movement of the late sixties and early seventies.

Regardless, however, of what some might say in hindsight, the Party was not initially conceived as a national or international revolutionary organizational force. (This is evidenced by the initial inclusion of 'for self defense', in the title.) It developed in order to address specific needs of a particular community. That many of these needs were shared by the vast majority of northern and western Afrikan American communities is more an indication of the national character of Afrikan American oppression than an example of the Panthers' original national perspective.

Very likely, if Newton and Seale hadn't founded the B.P.P. in Oakland, someone else would have. The conditions and climate in both the Afrikan American communities and the wider society dictated that the northern and western Afrikan American urban youth would rise up and take their place in the social and political movements of the sixties and seventies. With the challenges to the social and economic segregation of European American institutions, Afrikan American urban youth were bursting at the seams, as

was evidenced by the numerous urban rebellions in Los Angeles, Newark, Detroit, Oakland, and New York City.

Vietnam veterans were returning from war and entertaining the idea of using the skills they acquired in the armed services for political protest. The Black Panther Party presented an organized vehicle, with concrete programs in which these people could work through. For veterans such as Elmer Geronimo Pratt, Landon and Randy Williams, Thomas McCreary and Robert Webb the Party was an avenue in which to channel their skills and desires into the same organized efforts as college students such as Assata Shakur, Fred Hampton, Newton, and Bradley Greene.

The Party also helped facilitate the politicalization of prisoners and former prisoners such as George Jackson, Eldridge Cleaver, Bunchy Carter, and Herman (Noha) Bell.

The Party's growth can be attributed more to the social political climate than the organizational skill/efforts of the B.P.P. The original leadership in Oakland/S.F. had little idea of the struggles in Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, and North Carolina. As the Party grew nationally it began to incorporate a variety of experiences and ideas. It is at this point that the Party came closest to being a revolutionary vanguard organization. By 1968-1969, it had the potential for becoming a truly revolutionary organization with the capacity of leading not a protracted revolution but a

revolutionary movement. The Party had international ties, strong and growing support for community programs and an expanding and developing analysis of social conditions.

Three factors prevented the B.P.P. from becoming more than the vanguard of a movement with revolutionary potential. First, government attacks forced the Party to react rather than systemically initiate. By 1970 the Party was involved in a defensive war with the government (particularly the police), and was unable to concentrate on the objective needs and desires of the community. With this hostile combative posture the Party was unable to cultivate the initial support for its survival programs. Although many people supported the Party in its struggle to survive the government's war (Reference poll Newsweek), this support was little more than sympathy. It was active support which would facilitate personal involvement on a mass level. Many Afrikan Americans could sympathize with the Party for the murderous treatment inflicted on it, but the continuous firefights with the police had little positive influence upon the community. The Party became so preoccupied with the government that it lost sight of the needs of the people. Leaders simply were too caught up with their own need to survive to productively address the people's needs.

As devastating as the government's war against the Panthers was, additional factors explained the failings of

the Party. The historical record demonstrates amply that any organization which seriously challenges the status quo of this society will be met with whatever force is necessary to suppress it. By implementing a campaign of destruction against the Party, governmental agencies such as the F.B.I. and C.I.A. were fulfilling their role as protectors of the status quo. It would, however, be a grave mistake to credit the government alone for the Party's demise since any organization which challenges the state in the manner that the B.P.P., and claims to advocate revolutionary change, must expect the government to attack it.

If, in fact, the B.P.P. believed its own rhetoric -- that the government was fascist and oppressive -- then it was the Party's responsibility to anticipate such governmental actions and devise a plan of action to counter it. Nothing in the history of the U.S. suggested that the government would respond in any other manner than it did.

The experiences of labor movements of the early 1900's, the legal troubles of Gavary's Universal Negro Improvement Association, and the Communists witch hunts against Communists in the 1950's are examples of other organized political efforts being countered by government attacks. The scope and degree of attacks on the B.P.P. may be more blatant and severe but the principle remains the same: seriously challenge the major institutions and you

will be met by a repressive governmental response. The government will not tolerate political dissent which challenges the very nature of the status quo. The Party met such a widespread and violent governmental response because it arose during such a volatile period in history and because it represented such a militant uncompromising force.

Lack of National Leadership Development

Given the inevitable hostile governmental response, the Party's response to these actions contributed to the effectiveness of the government's campaign. In particular the B.P.P. leadership never established a democratic practice which could facilitate the incorporation of the many brilliant individuals who were attracted to the Party. While the national leadership remained stagnant the Party ranks had grown and changed significantly since late 1967 and early 1968. The Party membership had shifted from Bay area street people to national militant youth willing to study and organize. The 'homeboy' mentality of the original Party members inhibited its growth. Regional leaders like Hampton, Pratt, Dharuba, Michael Tabor, Connie Mathews, and Afani Shakur, could possibly have provided the fresh leadership necessary to transform the Party into one capable of waging a protracted struggle.

If the Party leadership had been able to expand and develop, it is possible that leaders would have succeeded in combating the unprincipled behavior within the leadership itself. If practice had continued to be the criterion for national leadership, rather than personal acquaintance of the original members, many regional leaders would have replaced those in power. These regional leaders had proved that they were able to develop new programs and generate new support in areas of which the original leaders had little knowledge or conception.

By closing off the national leadership and not incorporating regional leaders, the Party cut itself off from its most valuable asset -- its national rank and file. In effect, the Party retarded its own growth with an inability to fully expand the original local efforts into a national agenda. Issues such as housing, drugs, and gang violence were issues that various regional chapters were involved in organizing around. If they had been able to develop national programs or initiatives around such issues it would have enhanced the Party's growth.

Similar difficulties were also encountered in the area of armed struggle. Many members with far more experience than the individuals in leadership positions were inhibited from developing concrete, long-run strategies for the defense of the organization as well as further development of political armed self defense.

It is ironic that the paranoia and defensive response to the government's attacks prohibited the B.P.P. leadership from trusting those who were most willing and able to combat the government's campaign. In effect, the leadership played right into the hands of the state.

Many people have expressed their ideas on the character and motivations of the individual leaders, (see Epilogue and Appendix) especially Huey Newton. It is my analysis that, like many who initiate a mass movement or social change, the original participants who first sacrificed and dared to act have a tendency to become over-protective of their accomplishments. Party leaders grew fast in reputation with relatively little political experience. They acted and impacted the movement but they lacked an intimate knowledge of that movement.

Their participation was limited to a small area and short period of time. Within the B.P.P. itself, the original leadership remained virtually intact, even when others became far more experienced and knowledgeable about the conditions facing the organization.

With the rank and file possessing far more potential than the leadership, the Party was faced with the situation of having dedicated experienced workers involved in ill-advised and sometimes counterproductive activities. At the same time, the sophistication of the rank and file gave birth to creativity and innovation within local chapters.

This resulted in local efforts producing many successful programs and generating a lot of support from the community. But without direction from the national leadership many efforts did not translate into widespread long-term initiatives.

In short, the rank and file of the Party was by far the most progressive and productive aspect of the Black Panther Party. They developed as far as the limitations allowed. It was their efforts which produced the most fundamental and significant activities of the Party. They fed the children, withstood the police onslaughts, and lived among the people. They understood the mass and attempted to articulate their concerns, and thus gained the admiration and love of a large portion of the Afrikan American community.

The qualities of the rank and file, however, must be viewed with the understanding that there are inherent limitations to what rank and file can accomplish without strong dedicated and knowledgeable leadership. Rank and file can only effect change on a limited scale without the benefit of a strong national leadership.

The third and final factor which inhabited the long-term growth of the Black Panther Party was the youthful nature of the organization. The Party could only have existed for a short period of time because it was a youth movement and thus by definition was lacking in a

historical perspective. As an outgrowth of the objective conditions in the urban centers, and a rejection of the goals and tactics of the earlier civil rights movement, the Black Panther Party was a product of this period and thus had few qualities which led to longevity.

For many political activists of that era (Panthers included), the lack of historical perspective led to a narrow-minded egocentric view of the Afrikan American liberation struggle. They did not place their actions within the context of the hundreds of years of struggle. Rather, many Panthers were guilty of believing that they were involved in action which had no precedent or connection with the rest of Afrikan American history.

This lack of historical perspective led many members to believe that their efforts would produce immediate social change, if not outright liberation. Like many youth, they could not see beyond their own efforts and realize that they were only one tiny part (regardless of how important) of the total struggle for self determination and social and economic justice. Although members gave lip service to the idea of long drawn-out struggle, many also believed that the Party could lead the people to freedom in the near future.

The lack of historical perspective on the part of many members inhibited the development of a long-term integrative analysis of the tasks facing Afrikan Americans

to militantly rebel against their conditions. Many Panthers were unaware of the historical events and movements which preceded the 1960's Afrikan American human rights movement.

The Party's ability to address the needs and desires of the community on a contemporary basis allowed them to lead a strong, furious youth movement during 1967-1972, but their historical perspective made it impossible for them to place the movement within a historical context.

The Black Panther Party was not a vehicle which could lead the masses in an extended struggle for liberation, because such an organization was not and is still not possible. Afrikan Americans have struggled for justice for over three hundred and fifty years; however, they were physically enslaved until only 101 years before the B.P.P. was formed. For the past one hundred years Afrikan Americans have been involved in the process of defining who they are and what position they want in this society and the world.

The 1960's represented a major turning point in efforts of Afrikan Americans to define themselves as urban wage workers. The human rights movement of the late sixties and early seventies (in which the B.P.P. was a major participant) helped further the demand for fulfillment of basic needs such as housing, food, education, and physical safety. It also introduced the

concept of self determination as an alternative political solution to their condition. In the sixties Afrikan Americans expanded the methods, tactics, and even the conceptualization of social and economic justice.

It is within the context of expanding the conceptualization of the causes of Afrikan American oppression and the utilization of bold and daring tactics to address such conditions that the B.P.P. made its biggest contributions to the liberation of Afrikan Americans. Through their practice more than anything, the Party left many examples of organizing the most oppressed in society. They also placed the use of arms as a political tool permanently into the modern arena of Afrikan American struggle. This is not to say that they convinced all Afrikan Americans that the use of arms can be a legitimate political tactic. The Party succeeded in providing the movement with concrete examples of political armed self defense. People in the movement can utilize these real events and actions in an effort to further analyze the usefulness of such tactics.

Before the B.P.P., the contemporary Afrikan American liberation struggle had few concrete examples of the use of arms as a political tool. This limited any discussions on the feasibility of such tactics to the area of pure speculation. Through their actions, the Black Panther Party provided the movement with vital examples. In

essence, they were instrumental in elevating the movement to a higher level of struggle in which the use of arms, the organizing of the masses, and the demand for self determination are now discussed and utilized along with civil rights, equality, and non-violent action within the Afrikan American human rights struggle.

CHAPTER 14

EPILOGUE

In August of 1989, Huey Newton was shot dead in a West Oakland neighborhood where he had frequently organized activities on behalf of the Black Panther Party.

Many people were devastated by the circumstances of Newton's death. Some even uncritically placed complete blame upon the government. While it is true that the years of dirty tricks, arrests, shoot-outs, and prison terms, took their toll on Dr. Newton, it is also true that his personal behavior (over the past 17 years) was equally destructive. For it was his drug habit and bizarre behavior which helped the government succeed in creating the massive dissension which ultimately caused the demise of the Party.

As long ago as 1970, when some of the most loyal and dedicated Panthers were engaged in a desperate battle to save the Party, Newton's main concern was to continue his sex and drug parties. The fact that Newton abused drugs and women was bad enough, but his major historic crime is that he attempted to use the B.P.P. for his personal pleasures.

Looking back on the events of 1970 and 1971, Newton expelled (and thereby destroyed the Party), Donald Cox,

Kathleen and Eldridge Cleaver, Landon and Randy Williams, the entire NY 21, Geronimo Pratt and other Southern California Panthers, as well as ordered the death of Robert Webb -- all to protect his own personal interests.

I met Huey P. Newton for the first time on July 16, 1989 -- weeks before his death. I arrived at his Berkeley, California home unannounced to inquire about an interview he had told a second party he was willing to grant me. Being a member of the NY chapter of the Party and a part of the anti-Newton actions of 1971, I was apprehensive of his reaction. Much of what he said concerning the events of the Party contradicted the information I had previously gathered.

While I was in the Bay Area, many former Panthers among others informed me that Newton was known to frequent Oakland drug hangouts. I was also informed that he associated with Oakland youth on the fringe of the drug trade. At least five people told me that he was nothing but a "druggie" who bullied young drug dealers.

One of the reasons that many are unable to come to grips with the manner of Newton's passing is that the BPP and many supporters built Huey up to be a super hero. With Eldridge Cleaver's masterful ability to manipulate European American society in general and the media in particular, the Party produced the famous wicker chair and spear photo, and the poster of Newton and Bobby Seale in black uniforms,

displaying firearms. The image of an armed and thinking Black man ready to protect the Afrikan American community was a powerful one, and the Panthers made Newton the focus of that image. It was the chant of "Free Huey" that swept across this country in the late 1960's. The Party used Huey's incarceration as a major rallying point of the A.A. liberation movement of that era. They created an image of Newton as the "baddest" revolutionary in history. Members constantly quoted Newton as if he could say or do no wrong. Newton's picture appeared on the front page of every issue of the Panthers' newspaper, and he was heralded as the great revolutionary leader. These tactics proved useful in attracting people to the Party. Thousands upon thousands of people throughout the world came out in support for Newton and the Party. The Free Huey movement proved successful when in August of 1970 he was released from prison.

By August of 1970 the BPP had been transformed from a free-Huey organization into a political party with extensive community programs from community self defense to free health clinics and food programs. For many members, Newton was not the focus of the revolution; instead, the people, the Afrikan American community, was. The long efforts and focus on Newton and his release, however, were hard to eliminate. The same actions which worked to build the Party cut short its development.

The realization that Newton was no super revolutionary is one that many Panthers came to over 16 years ago. To many former Panthers the manner of Newton's death was tragic but not surprising. For through their struggle and interaction over twenty plus years, they have come to understand that projecting the people's power onto one individual is counter productive to the ideas and actions of the struggle.

Huey Newton and the Party fought to rid the community of killer cops, poor housing, poor education, and drugs. If Huey had been killed instead of wounded by the Oakland police during his arrest on October 26, 1967, no one would have questioned the identity and motives of his killers. But killer police did not take Newton's life. Another killer with which the BPP was struggling against took him -- drugs.

If anything, the death of Newton illustrates that the same genocidal conditions which propelled the BPP into an international organization remain today. Just because Newton at one time had identified and acted upon some critical elements of our oppression does not mean he would be immune to these same elements.

With the passing of Huey Percy Newton, many may dismiss the great contributions the BPP made to the struggle for Afrikan American liberation. The ideas of the B.P.P., however, did not die with Huey on that Oakland

street, since the ideas of the Party were never the sole possession of Newton. In fact, many former members say that Newton left the revolution many years ago.

The lesson of Newton's death is twofold; first, the Afrikan American community is involved in a war of destruction and the principal tool at the moment happens to be crack cocaine. Drugs are destroying our youth and communities just as they took the life of Huey P. Newton and has Mr. Robinson (Newton's 25 year old accused killer) facing life in prison. There go two strong Afrikan Americans whose lives have been taken from us because drugs are brought into our community and we did nothing effective to stop it.

The second-lesson of Newton's death and life is that Afrikan Americans must stop looking for a messiah who is going to lead them to the promised land. As the poet and musician Gil Scott Heron once reminded us: "There ain't no such thing as a superman." We as Black people must realize that one man, one woman is unable to lead us. We must realize that liberation will only come from the hard work and struggle of thousands of so-called ordinary people. There are no secrets to our freedom, so we better wake up and realize that it is we who will change our conditions. The only thing that separated Newton and the Panthers from any one of us was the fact that they were willing to take

the first step, to be up front. They dared to struggle and seize the time.

In short, Newton was idealized as a revolutionary superhero and he could not live up to the billing. He fell victim to the conditions he had fought to eliminate. Now Newton is dead and destructive and exploitative conditions still face our people. The question is not why did Newton die in the manner he did, but rather what are we doing to do to deal with the conditions that led to his death. It is at this point, looking for solutions to today's menace, that the Black Panther Party offers many examples and lessons.

The conditions of today, although very different than those in the late sixties, confront present Afrikan Americans with alarmingly similar problems. As with the heroin plague which swept the urban centers of the late 1960's, today we are faced with a crack epidemic which is tearing apart our communities. The unemployment and future outlook for many Afrikan American youth are just as bleak if not bleaker than twenty years ago. Incidents of racial terrorism have shifted from the rural South to the urban North. Today the Klan has been replaced by skinheads and working-class white youth. Many of the artifacts and players have changed but the misery and lack of control within the Afrikan American community remains the same.

It is within the context of searching for solutions to contemporary problems and not a sense of nostalgia that we should analyze or mourn Newton's death and the work of the B.P.P. The question of today should not be focused on Newton the man but rather upon the B.P.P. In particular, what relevance does the rank and file's grassroots activities have in dealing with today's problems.

The BPP had a comprehensive program. Although many members were angry and hostile towards European American society, the Party always saw itself as an alternative to spontaneous urban rebellion such as riots and indiscriminate killing of whites. The Black Panther Party offered constructive programs to aid the community. It called upon the youth of the community to struggle in an organized and systematic manner.

Unlike many earlier civil rights groups, the Party did not work among the privileged sector of the Afrikan American community. They worked among those no others wanted to even recognize. They organized prisons and prisoners, the homeless, the hungry, and the drug addicts. The Party's motto was "Serve the People," and they developed programs which demonstrated they were serious about their revolutionary love for their people.

They did not ask for justice but demanded it. They saw the manner in which Afrikan Americans were treated by the police forces and instead of crying to the government,

the Party developed programs to educate the community to methods of resisting racist attacks.

Conditions today call for an organized effort which will address the desolate economic and political state of the Afrikan American community. We need to address the discontent and self hatred produced by the conditions of our colonial status. The B.P.P. has presented us with numerous examples of how to conduct grassroots political organizing. They also left us with many examples of the militant stance necessary to effect change in a society which concedes nothing without a political, military, or economic consequence.

The Afrikan American liberation movement must begin to reestablish a working relation with the working class Afrikan American community (the working poor, whether they are fully-employed, marginally employed, or shut out of the work force). We must reacquaint ourselves with the day-to-day conditions of our community. No longer can we organize around abstract issues which have little obvious relevance to the needs and desires of our people. Specifically, we must begin to work with the section of our youth who have been brought up with no respect for themselves or others. We must help them to see that we do care about them and will not allow them to lose their humanity.

We cannot rely upon the state to care for our children. We cannot depend on the law-enforcement agencies or the criminal-justice system to protect us from the criminal activities of our youth. This racist and capitalist society has created these conditions within our communities and therefore they cannot and will not solve our problems.

The task of the 1990's is for the Afrikan American liberation movement to reclaim our youth and channel their hostility into revolutionary consciousness. As the B.P.P. harnessed the energy of the rioters of the middle 1960's as well as organized and politicized numerous street gangs, the task of the 1990's is for us to win our children away from the C.I.A.-Bush backed drug trade.

In order to address the rampant drug use within our community we must eliminate the human rights violations inflicted upon our communities. This means all genocidal activities such as the murderous behavior of many local police departments, dilapidated housing, unemployment, and mis-education, as well as the drug trade.

We must stop expecting the state to solve programs which it created. Rather, we must take control of our own lives and destiny and combat our oppression. This does not mean that our children should have amnesty against any murderous complicity they might indulge in. On the contrary, we must be strong with them and force them

(sometimes by way of heavy handed tactics) to become a positive force for liberation. We must also provide them with serious alternatives to the distractive and materialistic behavior of the drug trade. It is my belief that the B.P.P. provides us with one of the best examples of how to combat our oppressive circumstances.

Another important aspect of the B.P.P. which must be addressed is the continued incarceration of former Panthers and other political prisoners. In particular, the cases of Geronimo Pratt in San Quentin, CA and Dharuba Moore, in Napanack, NY. These two individuals have remained behind bars for over 18 years, while there is considerable evidence of government improprieties in their cases.

Unlike Newton, Pratt and Moore sacrificed their personal freedom while attempting to rebuild the B.P.P. They, along with countless others, did not succumb to personal weakness.

The Afrikan American political prisoners should be integrated into any political movement which we develop. Not only do they desire the support of our communities for their commitment to struggle for our liberation, but they have valuable insights and experiences with the power structure and its institutions. Prisoners also have a major role within our struggle for self determination. Prisoners, particularly political prisoners, are in an excellent position to work for and organize those segments

of our communities which have been involved in destructive and collaborative behavior.

In short, political prisoners must be supported by all Afrikan Americans. For their part, political prisoners have a responsibility to lend direction to those young prisoners who have been involved in negative behavior towards our own people. To do so is to reenact the Panther heritage.

CHAPTER 15

CURRICULUM

Section I

Introduction

Goals: To explain course requirements.
To have students gain background on knowledge of political and socioeconomic climate of early 1960's A.A. urban communities.

I. Student-Instructor Introductions

II. Course Requirements:

Class Participation -- All students are required to participate in class discussions. These discussions will take the form of small group as well as whole class discussions.

Community Service/Practicum -- Students will work three hours a week for two months on a service project.

Research, Written Work -- Each student will be required to do extensive research in library (see individual lessons).

Discussion of Urban Rebellions of 1960's

What were the urban rebellions of the 1960's?
What were some causes of the rebellions?
Why had young people turned to violence?
What were police community relations like?
What were some of the social and economic conditions of inner cities?
Educational conditions?
Employment?
Police brutality?
Housing?
Education?
Draft, military?

Activities:

Film on Urban Rebellions

Readings: Holder, History of BPP 1966-1971; Chapter entitled Chronology.

History of Human Rights Activities in Early 1960's

Goals: For students to become familiarized with the basic thoughts of Malcolm X.
 For students to gain information of SNCC activities in Lowndes County.
 Background information on A.A. armed self-defense in early 1960's.

Discussion

Malcolm X:

What were Malcolm X's central themes?
 What did he mean by human rights?
 What is the difference between human rights and civil rights?
 What was meant by "by any means necessary?"
 What was meant by "The ballot or the bullet?"
 What type of programs would Malcolm X have developed?

Nation of Islam

S.N.C.C./Lowndes County B.P.P.

Mississippi Independent Democratic Party
 Voter registration efforts, freedom schools, co-ops

Armed Defense in Civil Rights Struggle Early 1960's

Pre-S.C.L.C. armed defense, King
 Armed community protecting movement people; Selma, AL
 Robert Williams
 Deacons for Defense

Readings: Holder, The History of BPP 1966-1971:
 Chronology of the B.P.P. Ten Point Program

Historical Growth of B.P.P.

Goals: For students to familiarize themselves with the B.P.P.'s Ten Point Program and Platform.
To examine the development of the party.
To become familiar with key events of early period of party.

Early Years 1966-1968 Bay Area

Discussion Based on Readings:

Ten Point Program

Newton Seale developed it based on a door-to-door survey of the A.A. community of Oakland in fall 1966. The format is very similar to the Nation of Islam's platform printed in the back of their weekly newspaper, Muhammad Speaks.

Point by Point Examination of Program

1. What did Party mean by 'freedom' and the 'power to determine our own destiny?'
 2. Does point #2 only address the U.S. government as an obstacle to freedom?
 3. This was later changed to read "end to robbery by the capitalists."
What does the Party mean by "robbery" of the Black community?
Was the Party calling for reparations?
 4. By what means did Party propose to provide decent housing?
 5. What type of education was the Party calling for?
What is an education that teaches us "our role in present-day society?"
 6. Why should A.A.'s not serve in U.S. armed forces?
What role did the Party see the military having in connection with the A.A. community?
What was the Party's position on Vietnam war?
- What was the racial, gender makeup of most police forces during early 1960's?
 - Do individuals or groups have a right to defend self or community against police misconduct?
 - Why did Party call for freedom of imprisoned?
 - How have A.A.'s not gotten a fair trial?
 - What was the Party's major political objective?
 - Was the Party calling for self determination?
 - Was the Party advocating revolution?

Discussion of Total Program

Is Ten Point Program and Platform revolutionary?
 Is it reformist?
 Does it reflect needs and desires of A.A. community today?

Early Activities of B.P.P.

Armed Patrols:

Panthers acted in legal fashion?
 Why did Party develop armed patrols?
 What were community-police relations like in Oakland?
 What was reaction of police to legal Panther patrols?

What other community actions did Party engage in?

Traffic light?
 Denzell incident?
 Community control of police?
 Political education classes?

Sacramento Action:

Why did Party go to Sacramento armed?
 Did their presence seal the fate of the bill?
 Was this action legal?
 Why were they arrested?
 What kind of coverage did the media give action?
 Did party anticipate reaction of government, media?

The Shooting and Arrest of Newton:

What happened to Newton on 10/26/67?
 Why was this a turning point in Party development?
 How did this help and hurt the Party?

Free Huey Campaign

SNCC Alliance

What were Carmichael and Rap Brown's involvement in the Party?
 How did SNCC members assist the B.P.P. in Chicago, N.Y., and Bay Area?
 Did SNCC members join the Party?
 What tactics and strategies did the Party learn from SNCC and former SNCC members?

P.F.P. Alliance/Running for Political Office

What did the P.F.P. provide the Party?
 What did the Party provide the P.F.P.?

Strike at San Francisco State College

What was Party's involvement at S.F.S.?
 Who was George Murray?

What role did the Panthers play in establishing the San Francisco State University Black Student Union?

Activities

Student develop three points which reflect the current needs and desires of A.A. community.

Develop survey to assess needs and desires of A.A. community.

Students research and bring an article from a daily newspaper on an early Panther community or campus activity.

Survey A.A. community on police relations.

Resources: Holder, History of BPP 1966-1971; Chronology and the Ten Point Program and Platform of the B.P.P.

Movie: Free May Day Huey and Off the Pig

Seale, Bobby. Seize the Time. Vintage Books, NY, 1970. This is a narrative on the history of the early period of the B.P.P. Seale concentrates on the actions of Newton and himself. It is the best source of information on the first two years of the Party.

Newton, Huey P. Revolutionary Suicide. Ballantine Books, NY, Chapters 3 and 4. These chapters deal with the early years of the Party. It is autobiographical form. The book is a good source for information on the individual thoughts and motivations of Newton himself. The book does not center around the Party but rather Newton himself.

The Black Panther.

Holder, Kit. Interviews with Landon Williams, K. Cleaver, and Huey Newton. These individuals were actively involved with the Party in the San Francisco/Oakland Bay between 1966 and 1969.

National Organization

Goals: To gain a perspective of the national scope of party.
 To identify the key elements in national expansion.
 To become familiarized with the emerging regional leaders.
 To examine the measures taken by the party to increase politicalization of members.

Discussion Based on Readings

Early Expansion of Party Chapters

1. What was focus of the first organizational activities in L.A.?
2. When and how was the New York Chapter formed?
3. When and how was the Illinois Chapter established?
4. What were some of the early activities of the Seattle Chapter?
5. What other chapters were there in the Midwest during 1968 and early 1969?

Rise of Regional Leaders

Who was Bunchy Carter?

How did he become involved with the Party?

What did he do in Southern California?

Who is Geronimo?

How did Geronimo get involved with Party?

What was his responsibilities in the Party?

Who is Landon Williams and how did he come to join the Party?

What was his responsibilities in the Party?

Where did Pete O'Neal organize?

What was Fred Hampton's political experiences before joining the Party?

What are some of the local organizing efforts initiated by Hampton?

Did Hampton have a national role within the Party?

Who is David Brothers and Jordon Ford?

What role did Dharuba Moore play in the NY chapter prior to 1969?

Did his role and position in the Party change once released from jail in 1970?

Who decided which NY 21 members would be released on bail?

Who is Doug Maranda?

What was the extent of the Party's organizing in New England?

What was the major focus of the New England organizing efforts?

The Black Panther Black Community News Service

What role did The Black Panther play in the national growth of Party?

How would one characterize the extent of the circulation and distribution of The Black Panther paper?

Who was Sam Napier?

What was the rank and file role in the distribution of the paper?

What was the average weekly circulation of the paper?

Who was the first editor of the paper?

What was the rank and file's role in writing the paper?

What kinds of articles appeared in the paper?

Was the paper used as an educational tool for the community?

What role did the paper play in the political education of the rank and file?

Who is Emory Douglass and what role did he play in the production of the paper?

Development of a Disciplined Political Organization -- Cadre Building

Why did the Party discontinue the wearing of uniforms?

Why did the Party stop the public display of weapon and police watches?

What was the primary daily community work of the rank and file?

What was the difference between the Party's internal political education in 1966 and 1967 and that of 1968, 1969, and 1970?

Full Time Involvement

When and where did the Party institute communal living?

Was the Party self supportive?

Purge (1969)

Why did leadership feel a need for increased Party discipline?

Why were many of the original members expelled?

What role did government infiltration play in the purge?

Were the ranks of the Party completely closed in 1969?

What chapters were closed?

Why did the Central Committee feel a need to tighten control over regional chapters and local branches?

National Unification of Community Programs and the Development of the Survival Programs

When did chapters begin focusing on Party initiated programs?

Why did national headquarters begin a set agenda for local organizing?

International Activities and Support

What did Party members do in Cuba and Afrika?

Why was Cleaver asked to leave Cuba?

What assistance did Cuba and Algeria give the Party?

What type of following did the Party have in the Caribbean?

Who were the Black Berets?

What was the extent of contact between the Party and Afrikan national and liberation struggles?

What was the Party's position on the Vietnam war?

Why did the Party establish strong ties with North Korea and Vietnam?

What did the European Black Panther support committees do?

Activities

Students write articles on a specific community issue.

Using chronology, student document three community programs initiated by local chapters.

Students find one grassroots political community newspaper and compare it the The Black Panther.

Additional Resources

The Black Panther. The paper is a good resource for gaining national scope of Party. Most chapters published articles on their specific organizing efforts.

Foner, Philip. (Editor) The Black Panthers Speak. Lippincott, NY, 1970. This is the best anthology of Panther writings up until 1970. It has all the key works of the national leaders as well as documentation of the development of the national programs.

Holder, Kit. Interviews with former Panthers: Milika Adams, McCearry, Landon Williams, Jamal Joseph, K. Cleaver, and Huey Newton.

Mao Tsetung. Quotations From Chairman Mao Tsetung. Foreign Languages Pres, Peking, China, 1968. This book is the one that the Party used as the main political education tool for the rank and file. The book provides insights into the type of cadre building the Party was attempting.

Section II. Theory and Practice of the B.P.P.

Armed Self Defense

Goals: To understand the Party's position on armed self defense.
 For students to analyze and decide if the Party's actions were consistent with its definition of armed self defense.
 For students to become familiar with the philosophy and practice of domestic political violence during 1960's and early 1970's.

Discussion Based on Readings

In Defense of Self Defense

Self defense versus non violence.
 What methods have been used to halt police brutality and racial attacks? (Party used police patrols and community control, and armed self defense.)

Functional Definition of Politics

Arms as a political tool.
 What was reaction to armed A.A.'s? (Government, white and Black society)
 What was Party's political motive for being armed?
 What role did Party see the police playing in community?

Armed Patrols

What were the patrols?
 Why did Party start patrols?
 What did Party meet resistance by local police and officials?

Defense of Panther Facilities

Why armed defense of offices?
 What constituted a successful defense of Panther offices?
 Should the Party have abandoned practice of defending facilities?
 Should the Party have disarmed?

Guerrilla Warfare

Was Newton calling for the Party to engage in guerrilla warfare in "Correct Handling of the Revolution?"

What was Newton calling for in "Correct Handling of the Revolution?"

What did Donald Cox mean by self defense units?

Was D.C. calling for the Party to organize such units?

Was the Party involved in self-defense units?

What role did George Jackson envision for the 'armed underground?'

Was the Party's armed actions purely defensive?

What is the concept of offensive-defensive actions?

Did organize defense units?

Jackson's "Blood in my Eye"?

Army to protect Party?

Was Party actions purely defensive?

Did Party advocate guerrilla warfare?

What is the concept of offensive-defensive actions?

Armed Resistance as a Legitimate Tactic in the A.A.
Liberation Struggle: Historical Background of Armed Resistance

What historical role has armed resistance played in the Afrikan American liberation struggle?

What historical incidents which involved armed struggle by Afrikan Americans?

What other third world organizations in the 1960's and 1970's were involved in armed struggle?

Activities

Movie: Black and Blue (on police brutality).

Research daily newspapers for armed actions during period of 1968-1971.

Look up local laws for public possession of firearms.

Investigate right-wing groups who are armed.

Investigate local police-community relations.

Resources:

Jackson, George. Blood in My Eye. Random House, NY, 1970. This book deals in part with Jackson's philosophy of armed struggle in the U.S. It is comprised of letters he wrote while in prison. The book also includes letters by his brother Jonathan, who stormed the Marin County courthouse and was killed in a shoot-out with FBI agents.

Jackson, George. The Black Panther, 12/1/70:1, 12/26/70, and 1/9/71:15. "Guerrilla Acts of Sabotage and Terrorism in the United States, 1965-1970. Reprinted From Scanlon's." This three part article is a chronology of armed acts in U.S. It is a reprint (listed as taken from Scanlon's (A Ramparts Publication). 12/1/70:1 section has Party editorial.

Newton, Huey. "In Defense of Self Defense Executive Mandate Number One." The Black Panther, 6/2/67, Foner, 1970:40. Newton's 1967 order for Panthers to defend themselves from police attacks.

Newton, Huey. "The Correct Handling of the Revolution." The Black Panther, 5/18/68 and Foner, 1970:41. Newton states strategy for Party. Denounces underground. Calls for A.A. community to become armed.

Newton, Huey. "Functional definition of Politics." The Black Panther, 3/3/69 and Foner, 1790:45. Newton discusses political power of the gun.

Williams, Randy. "Urban Guerillas." The Black Panther, 6/6/70:6. This article is a good example of the rank and file's perspective of armed struggle.

Cox, Donald. "Organizing Armed Self Defense Groups." The Black Panther, April and May 1970. This is a training guide written by Field Marshal DC. The manual appeared in pamphlet form as well as in the paper over a two month period.

Pratt, Geronimo. "National Salvation." The Black Panther, 1/31/70:4. This article deals with the developing concept of offensive-defensive actions.

Survival Programs

Goals: For students to understand the size and scope of the survival program.
To explore the political goals of the survival programs.
To become familiar with the particulars of each program.

Discussion Based on Readings

Particulars of Each Program

When and how did the Party establish the Free Breakfast Program?
What skills and resources were necessary to establish a Breakfast program?
What role did the rank and file play in the Breakfast programs?
What was the involvement of the community in the programs?

What governmental program was molded after the Party's Breakfast program?
 What sector of the community most benefited from this program?
 What were the Party's liberation schools?
 Why were the schools first established?
 What was the Party's major issue concerning A.A. education?
 What other organizations in the 1960's developed independent schools?

What was the food distribution program?
 Why did the Party initiate this program?
 What resources were needed for this program?
 What was the rank and file's role in this program?
 What sector of the community did this program address?

What were the medical and/or health clinics?
 Did the Party run these centers by themselves?
 What was the role of volunteers?
 What was the educational goal of the clinics?
 What role did the rank and file play in this program?
 What long-lasting effect did the Panther health/medical clinics on health care for working-class third world communities?
 Sickle Cell Anemia testing and research.

Serving the People as a Political Act

Why did Party focus on the needs of the poorest?
 How did the Party address the people's needs?
 How did the Party ensure it was in touch with the people's needs?
 What was the purpose of 'serving the people'?
 What was the government's response to the programs?

People's Institutions as a Means of Community Control

What effect did the programs have on community support of Party?
 What role did the Party want the people to have in the programs?
 What role did churches have with the programs? (Many churches used the programs as a vehicle of supporting the Party's work without supporting its philosophy.)
 How were the programs funded?
 What was the role of the businesses in the community?

Reform Versus Revolution

Did the programs produce any significant changes in the way society served the poor?

Were the survival programs an effective way of organizing and educating the community?
 Did the Party view the programs as the answers to the economic conditions of the community?

Activities:

As a major requirement of this course students must participate in four hours of community service for a period of two months. Hopefully, the sponsoring institution will provide economic assistance in the form of work-study funds. The class is to begin identifying prospective sites two weeks into the course. Site choice should be consistent with the type of work that the Party was involved in.

Criteria of Sites

1. Group must be grassroots based.
2. Group must address grassroots issues.
3. Student must be involved in grassroots service.
4. Student must have ability to serve full hours.

In addition to the forty hours of community service the students are required to keep a journal of their experiences of work.

Alliances and Coalitions

Goals: To become familiar with the groups the Party worked with.
 To gain an understanding of the Party's position on integrated organizations.
 Gain knowledge of Party's international work.

Discussion Based on Readings

Party Membership, Targeted Community

What community did the Party target?
 Were non A.A.'s allowed in Party?
 What was the Party's position on organizational integration?
 Was Party opposed to all European Americans?
 When and why did Party form coalition with P.F.P.?
 Was it consistent with Party position on coalitions?
 Why did Party form an alliance with S.N.C.C.?

Grassroots Working Alliances, 1968-1971

Why did Party work with youth gangs?
 What role did the Party envision for the youth gangs?

Young Lords

- Where and when was the original Young Lords Organization formed?
- When and where was the Young Lord Party formed?
- What were the differences between these two organizations?
- Was the independence of P.R. the major focus of the Lords?
- What was the Y.L.P.'s political objectives?

Brown Berets

- What Chapter (and individuals) established relations with this organization?
- Was the call for an independent homeland for Mexican Americans consistent with Party politics?
- Was the Party interested in working in Mexican American communities?

Red Guard

- What was a major unifying factor between B.P.P. and Red Guard?
- Did Party develop ties to Asian community in L.A., S.F./Oakland Bay Area, N.Y., and Boston?

Young Patriots

- Why did Party work with Y.P.?
- What was the class background of Y.P.'s?
- What community did the Patriots work in?
- Was the relation with these groups different from that with the P.F.P.?
- Why did Party members have respect for these groups?
- Were these groups clones of the Party?
- What was their relationship to the Party?

International Bureau

- What third world liberation movements did the Party develop relations with?
- What countries did the Party have official relations with?
- How did the Party use the international community to combat the U.S. government's attacks?
- What and where were organizations which emulated the Party?

Activities

- Movie: Young Lords
- Small group project: Each group do a presentation on one of the organizations the Party worked with; i.e., YLO, SNCC, PFP, Brown Berets, Red Guard, Y.P.P.

Additional Resources:

Foner, Philip. (Editor) The Black Panthers Speak, Chapter 11. This chapter covers the various organizations which had coalitions with the Party. The Young Lords Organization and Party, Young Patriots Party, among others. The 13-Point Program and Platform of the Young Lord Party is included.

Foner, Philip. Palenque. The story of the Young Lord Party. This book is a photo essay of the New York Based Young Lord Party. The events captured took place around 1969.

Foner, Philip. La Raza. A 1960's 'underground' newspaper published in Los Angeles. Deals with the struggles of Mexican Americans in the Southwest.

Student Organizing

Goals: To familiarize students with the various student-organizing efforts of the B.P.P.
To understand the party's view of student's role in struggle.

Discussion Based on Readings

Party's Early Student Efforts

What was Newton's and Seale's political involvement at Merritt College and in the Afro-American Association?

What was the role of the Party in the San Francisco State B.S.U. and strike?

What was the Party's position on local B.S.U. organizing?

What role did the Party see third world student's role being? (Students were called upon to work in community)

What role did students play in Party activities? (Students joined and organized support on campuses)

Organizing Efforts in Public Schools

What was the Party's position on community control of schools?

What role did Panthers play in Brooklyn, New York's struggle for community control of schools?

What did the Party have in struggling for inclusion of progressive courses in high schools?
 How did the Party combat racist treatment of students by school authorities?

Activities

Movie: Strike at S.F.S.
 Small groups research one A.A. campus protest during 1966-1971.
 Analyze demands to see if Party would have supported protest.

Prison Organizing

Goals: Understand why the Party organized with and around prisoners.
 To understand the Prison movement of the 1960's and 1970's.
 To analyze the B.P.P.'s position on A.A. prisoners in European American society.

Discussion Based on Readings

What was the Party's definition of a political prisoner?
 Why did the Party feel all A.A.'s should be released from jail?
 What was its definition of a prisoner of war?
 What body should judge prisoners of war (P.O.W.)?
 What did many members do when incarcerated?
 (Organized in prisons)
 What was the major issue in the prisons?
 (See Attica demand and Soledad)
 What is the role of the community in prisons?
 (Support resources a void/advocate)
 What role do prisoners have towards the community?
 (Educate youth, specific research)
 Throughout history, what A.A. leaders have been imprisoned?
 What role did prison institutions play against the Party? (Treatment of Newton, NY 21, George Jackson)

Prisons become centers of activity when a large number of politically active people are jailed and the conditions foster revolutionary spirit.

Activities

Movie: Attica.
 Students write a letter to a political prisoner.
 Class visit a correctional institution.

Governmental Campaign

Goals: Students gain an understanding of the extent of government actions against the Party.
To examine the reasons for government campaign.
The effect the government had on Party development.

Discussion Based on Readings

Historical Background: Government Against Black Liberation Movement

What did the government do to Garvey's UNIA organization?

Why was Garvey sentenced to 5 years in prison?

What was the stated reason for the government's attack on Garvey? (J. Edgar Hoover stated he was the "most prominent Negro agitator in the world today and we have to stay on him" (O'Reilly, 1989:14).)

What other organizations and individuals have been the target of governmental attacks based on their political activities?

Did the F.B.I. assist the southern activities of the civil rights movement and Dr. Martin L. King, Jr.?

What role did the government have in the death of Malcolm X?

Governmental Targeting the Black Movement

When did they begin spying on activists?

When did government start disrupting organizations?

What was the objective of government campaign?

To what degree was the government responsible for the Party's demise?

Party's Relation to Law Enforcement

Did Party's action justify COINTELPRO?

Should Party have expected repression?

How could the Party have defused the government's attacks?

To what extent did government spies influence party actions?

Were the Party's actions defensive or offensive?

Legality of B.P.P.-Government Actions

Did the Party act in a legal fashion?

Should Party have acted in a legal manner exclusively?

Did government act in legal manner?

Is government obligated to act in legal manner?

Are questions of legality relevant in a revolution or struggle for self determination?

Contemporary Political Prisoners

What former Panthers remain imprisoned for their Party activities?

Activities

Discussion of above questions.

View Movie: "The Murder of Fred Hampton."

Research newspaper for evidence of COINTELPRO activities against Party.

Resources:

Movie: "The Murder of Fred Hampton". This is a documentary of the investigation of the raid on the Chicago Panther house where Mark Clark and Fred Hampton were killed. The movie includes a tour of the site, interviews with Panthers, footage of Hampton and Clark as well as interviews with government officials, including some of the participating police officers.

O'Reilly, Kenneth. Racial Matters; The FBI's Secret File on Black America, 1960-1972. The Free Press, Macmillan, Inc., NY, 198. This book explores the F.B.I.'s activities against such organizations and individuals as King and SCLC, Garvey UNIA, Malcolm OAAU, Elijah Muhammad N.O.I., Carmichael and Brown SNCC, and the B.P.P. This book also examines the knowledge and involvement of other government agencies and individuals, from local police departments to presidents like Nixon and Kennedy. O'Reilly relies on FBI, court, and other government documents as the basis of this book.

Churchill, Ward and Vander Wall, Jim. Agents of Repression; The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement. South End Press, Boston, MA, 1988. This book contains about 100 pages on the government's COINTELPRO against the B.P.P. Augmenting government documents is information gathered by conversations with a number of political prisoners. The book also contains a short history of the tactics and actions of the FBI. The remaining 300 plus pages are an in-depth documentation of the FBI's involvement at Wounded Knee/Pine Ridge. I highly recommend this book for the political context in which the authors documented the evidence.

Blackstock, Nelson. COINTELPRO. The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom. A Pathfinder Book, NY, 1988. Based

almost exclusively on FBI documents, this book concentrates on the FBI's activities against the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. (It was their lawsuit that forced the government to make the FBI files public.) Book contains photo copies of original FBI memos.

Glick, Brian. War At Home Covert Action Against U.S. Activists and What We can Do About It. South End Press, Boston, MA, 1989. Book contains short history of government covert actions against progressive activists. It preliminarily deals with the particulars of the FBI's tactics. The book also contains many suggestions on how to combat government tactics. Book also deals with some FBI actions during the 1970's and early 1980's.

Clark, Ramsey and Wilkins, Roy. Search and Destroy. Metropolitan Applied Research Center, N.Y., 1973. This is the documentation of the investigation of the raid on the Chicago Panther home of Hampton and Clark.

The Black Panther, 2/21/70:2-27. List of all arrests of B.P.P. members and raids on facilities. See Appendix #1 in Holder, 1989.

The Black Panther has in-depth accounts on all raids on Panther facilities.

The Black Panther available from University of Conn. at Storrs, CT; Howard University, Washington, D.C.; Schomburg Library on Black Life and Culture, Harlem, NY.

Village Voice, 9/19/89:10 (New York). "The Last Caged Panther." This article deals with an up-to-date assessment of the case of Dhoruba Bin Wahad (formerly Richard Dhoruba Moore of the NY 21). Dhoruba is quoted throughout the article.

Amnesty International. United States of America, May 1988, AI Index:AMR 51/27/88. The Case of Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt. This is Amnesty International's report on their investigation of G's case. They conclude that G was denied a fair trial and therefore has been unjustly imprisoned. They also conclude there is evidence of government misconduct in their activities against Pratt for over twenty years.

Chevigny, Paul. Cops and Rebels. Pantheon Books, NY, 1970. This book is about the court case of three Brooklyn, New York Panthers who were set up by a NYPD undercover agent. The author (a lawyer for one of the Panthers) has a keen insight into the rank and file attitudes of NY

Panthers. Revealing section on how police infiltrated the local branch.

Tackwood, Luis E. Glasshouse Tapes. The Story of an Agent Provocateur and the New Police-Intelligence Complex. Avon Press, NY, 1973. This book is based on the experiences of Luis Tackwood, who was an informer and agent for the L.A.P.D./FBI. Although some of his accusations cannot be corroborated and his credibility is suspect, this book is very much worth reading. It is full of details of the tactics and the extent to which the government will go to disrupt A.A. organizations.

Party National Leadership

Goals: For students to be able to identify the differences between the original national leadership and the regional leadership.

For students to analyze the reasons for the Oakland domination of the national leadership.

For students to examine the role of leadership in a grassroots political organization.

Discussion Based on Readings

What actions propelled Newton and Seale into leadership positions? (10 Point Program and Platform, patrols, police stand off)

What stage of its development was the Party in when Newton was arrested?

What actions made Geronimo Pratt and Fred Hampton leaders? (Organized chapters, programs, developed alliances)

Why were regional leaders not included on Central Committee?

Why did national headquarters insist on Oakland personnel replacing local leadership in New York?

What were the initial contradictions which led to discontent among New York and Los Angeles Panthers?

What was the government's role in creating dissension in the Party?

APPENDIX A

SPLIT

ON THE PURGE OF GERONIMO FROM THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The Black Panther Party is informing all Chapters, Branches, N.C.C.F.'s and the mass of People that we are purging from our ranks Elmer Gerard Pratt, more commonly known as Geronimo or "G".

In addition to committing flagrant violations of our Party's principles, this man ultimately showed that although he claimed allegiance and devotion to the struggle of the People from oppression and to the Black Panther Party, his devotion and allegiance was still to the ways and rules of the Pig Power Structure. When he left the Marine Corps' Special Forces (having trained Green Berets), the armed agency of the CIA, he joined the Black Panther Party. But he has proven beyond a doubt that he is as dedicated today to that Pig Agency as he was when he was in Vietnam, killing innocent Vietnamese women and children on various "search and destroy" missions.

It is certain that we were under an illusion that he had switched allegiances, for his ties (which he admitted he had been trained to tell) were extremely convincing. For the Black Panther Party did everything in our power to allow this man - who can no longer be considered such, for he lacks human compassion and understanding - to remain free from the vicious clutches of the pigs. As a result of our efforts, this jockanape informed the Central Committee of our Party of certain demands he had - namely money. He advised the Party that he had organized some other fools, that they were armed and that if his demands were not met, he would "move on" (assassinate) our Chief



Elmer Gerard Pratt, more commonly known as Geronimo or "G"

of Stoff, David Hiltiard. This nape further stated that he in fact didn't like the manner in which the Chief of Staff conducted himself or the Party's business, and that he felt he needed to be removed anyway. He also mentioned that once his forces were together, he would also "get rid of" (assassinate) our Assistant Chief of Staff, June Hiltiard.

But, the most disgraceful, counter-revolutionary, piggish and dog-like thing this pig has done is to state openly that if the Party would not go along with his ideas, he would assassinate the Supreme Commander and Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, Huey P. Newton.

As if this were not sufficient, he used money he had obtained through and in the name of the Party to purchase alcohol and narcotics for the purpose of indulging himself and his stupid cohorts in nightly bourgeois, orgiastic revelry. (Without the direct eye of the Party's leadership, he maintained a personally pleasure-seeking life.)

During this period - that is, prior to the arrests in Dallas, Texas on last December 8th and after he left his obvious Party tasks to avoid capture by the pigs - during this period, Geronimo 1) violated many young Black sisters he met while moving from town

to town, forcing them to submit to himself and the other fools; 2) left a wide trail for the pigs to follow, thereby, exposing the Party to the pigs, by letting most of the people he met know he was a member of the Black Panther Party; 3) harassed and intimidated many of the people with whom he came into contact, by demanding their aid under the threat of their lives; 4) purchased "Christmas" presents ("Christmas" being the high holiday of the pig capitalists, particularly the avaricious businessmen; and, the period during which the masses of People are exploited in the highest.), to send to his and the others' families and friends, in addition to the counter-revolutionary nature of this particular act, he would have provided additional exposure of their location - which was to have been clandestine (secret).

Finally, Geronimo and the others who are hereby purged - Will Stafford, Wilfred "Crutch" Holiday, and George Lloyd - attempted to organize other renegades from our Party and themselves into a counter-revolutionary, little rebel roving band, certainly not adhering to the Party's principles or orders, but also violating the masses of People themselves. They are like snakes who crawled into a baby's crib. And we expel them from our ranks, as we would such snakes. We have no word of good to say for them and have faith that the People will someday let these pigs like all other burn in the Fires of Reaction.

Let it be known, then, that Geronimo (Elmer Gerard Pratt), his wife Sandra Lone Pratt or Sandra Holmes or "Red" (who worked in concert with him), Will Stafford, Wilfred "Crutch" Holiday and George Lloyd are forever purged and expelled from the Black Panther Party. Any Party member or community worker who attempts to aid them or communicate with them in any form or manner shall be considered part of their conspiracy to undermine and destroy the Black Panther Party.
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Huey P. Newton

HUEY P. NEWTON
SUPREME COMMANDER AND
MINISTER OF DEFENSE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

THE LUMPEN BLACK PANTHER PARTY



AND THE FREEDOM MESSENGERS PLUS

THE VANGUARDS REVOLUTIONARY JAZZ ENSEMBLE

FRIDAY, JAN. 22

7:30 P.M.

AT MERRITT COLLEGE GYM

DONATION \$1.75

SATURDAY, JAN. 23

8:30 P.M.

PAULEY BALLROOM
U.C. BERKELEY

DONATION \$2.00

296

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1971 PAGE 11

ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE



MICHAEL CETEWAYO TABOR



CONNIE MATTHEWS TABOR



RICHARD DHARUBA MOORE

The Black Panther Party denounces the counter-revolutionary actions of jackanapes Connie Matthews Tabor, her husband, Michael Cetewayo Tabor and Richard Dharuba Moore, which have jeopardized the lives of the Minister of Defense and Supreme Commander of the Black Panther Party, Huey P. Newton and Chief of Staff, David Hillard, dealt a serious blow to Revolutionary Intercommunal Solidarity Day for Bobby Seale, and caused Joan Byrd and Afeni Shakur to be thrown back into maximum security, jeopardizing the entire outcome of the New York 21 trial.

Connie Matthews Tabor was the primary person responsible for coordinating Huey P. Newton's current East Coast speaking tour to mobilize support for Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins, currently on trial for their lives in New Haven. The day before she left, Bobby personally asked Connie to testify in his behalf.

On Friday, February 5th, Huey spoke to a group of Black Student Unions at New Haven College. After the meeting, he left for Boston. At this point, Connie Matthews Tabor slipped away with her husband, Michael Cetewayo Tabor, and Eddie Jamal Josephs. Connie Matthews Tabor never communicated again with David Hillard or Huey P. Newton. She took with her details of the Supreme Commander's speaking tour and stole the European contacts necessary for Revolutionary Intercommunal Solidarity Day, March 5th. These acts could severely jeopardize the mobilization campaign in support of Bobby and Ericka. The East Coast speaking tour

and Revolutionary Intercommunal Solidarity Day are key parts of the strategy to defeat the government's plan to put Bobby and Ericka in the electric chair.

The Black Panther Party urges all intercommunal friends and solidarity committees to contact directly Huey P. Newton and Eldridge Cleaver so that Revolutionary Intercommunal Solidarity Day will be a success despite the plans of Connie Matthews Tabor to sabotage it.

If Connie Matthews Tabor has the audacity to contact our intercommunal friends or solidarity committees, contact Black Panther Party Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, immediately.

On Monday, February 8th, Michael Cetewayo Tabor and Richard Dharuba Moore failed to appear for another session of Murtagh's "circus". By their deserting their comrades, they gave the pigs an excuse to throw Joan Byrd and Afeni Shakur, four-months pregnant, back into maximum security. They jeopardized the chances of the other brothers getting bail and they propped up the dying case of pig Phillips against the New York 21. They fled just at the time that the orchestration was finishing parading its pig witnesses on the stand, showing to the world the frame up they were perpetrating to keep the brothers in jail and the filthiness of this show-case trial whose purpose is to justify pig Mitchell's attacks on the Black Panther Party.

The fact that the incarcerated members of the New York 21 were expelled from the Black Panther Party for their attacks on the Party in their letter to the Weatherman can in no way justify the dirty actions of these dogs, Moore and Tabor, toward their "comrades". This vicious, backstabbing act of Moore and Tabor dwarfs the differences between the New York 21 and the Black Panther Party. The lowest circle of Hell is reserved for those who betray their comrades.

The fact that Connie Matthews Tabor left the Black Panther Party without regard for the importance of the mobilization campaign and that Michael Cetewayo Tabor and Richard Dharuba Moore joined her at this time without regard for the fate of their comrades in New York, shows the low-natured individualism, insensitivity and scheming minds of these jackanapes.

The fact that Michael Cetewayo and Connie Matthews Tabor executed their plan of disappearing immediately after a public appearance of Huey and David gravely jeopardized the lives of our Supreme Commander and Chief of Staff. Besides this extreme act of navery, their disappearance also endangered the homes and offices of all Party members by giving the pigs an excuse (as if they need one) to vamp.

Remember the case of George Sams, his disappearance and the immediate, wide-scale raids on Black Panther Party offices.

In retrospect, it is now clear that this treachery is not a haphazard,

continued on next page



ON THE CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

This is our regularly scheduled political education class. We have today a very serious internal crisis within the B.P.P. and our class today will be devoted to a discussion, an analysis of this problem, setting forth certain historical elements that need to be known and need to be thoroughly analyzed in order to enable us to deal with the situation. We have information that we've received from the United States via the telephone and think that it would be better for us to start by listening to those messages. Of course members of the B.P.P., also some of our comrades who've been working in close harmony with the BPP over a period of time in various parts of the world are present — Eldridge Cleaver, Shku Odingso, Pete O'Neal, Don Cox, Barbara Cox, Dave Jacobs, Ian Black, Kathleen Cleaver, Bill Perry, Lily, Charlotte O'Neal, Larry Mack

I just want to comment on the present situation that exists inside the Black Panther Party, specifically in reference to the purge of brother Geronimo and the expulsion of the NY 21. Our position over here, and

we have three members of the Central Committee of the BPP over here, is that this action is regrettable, it should not have taken place, it took place without proper consultation with the other members of the Central Committee and we lay the responsibility at the feet of David Hilliard and we demand that David Hilliard be dismissed or resign from the position of Chief of Staff of the BPP so that we can go about the work of pulling the Party back together again, because it looks to us as though the results of the actions by David Hilliard over a long period of time, the Party has fallen apart at the seams.

TELEPHONE CONVERSATION BETWEEN HUEY P. NEWTON & ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

EC - Hello?

HN - Hello.

EC - Hey man

HN - Eldridge

EC - What's happening?

HN - Well, you dropped a bombshell this morning

EC - Yeah.

HN - Don't you think so?

EC - I hope so

HN - Well, it was very embarrassing for me.

EC - Well it had to be dealt with, man.

HN - Well I have to deal with it too because I think that it was unfair because when you bring things like that it should be brought to the Central Committee and discussed openly and not outside, you know?

EC - Well the way a lot of stuff has been going down it hasn't been done that way, man.

HN - Hello, you listening? The Intercommunal Section is expelled

ED - Right on, if that's what you want to do, brother. But look here, I don't think you should take such actions like that.

HN - Well, I'm taking it, brother. You dropped the bombshell all over the country now that there's a fraction, well I want the fraction to be put to work, because I wish I could've devastated it if it exists but I don't think it exists. As far as you're concerned, you can go to hell brother, but you're expelled, all communications will be stopped and that's the end of it

EC - Say Huey,

HN - What? I'm going to write the Koreans, the Chinese, and the Algerians and tell them to kick you out of the, our embassy.

EC - Say Huey.

HN - And to put you in jail. You're a maniac brother.

EC - Say, Huey.

HN - Like Timothy Leary, I think you're full of acid this morning.

EC - Say Huey...

HN - What?

EC - I think you should slow down brother, 'cause that's not going to work, you know.

HN - Well I think it will. We'll see.

EC - O.K., we'll see

HN - And you know, I'd like a battle brother. We'll battle it out.

EC - Say Huey, that's not the best way to deal with that

HN - Well this is the way I'm going to deal with it

EC - Well, then I think you're a mathman too brother

HN - O.K., we'll battle like two bulls, we'll lock horns.

EC - We'll see then O.K.?

HN - But I think I have the guns.

EC - I got some guns too, brother.

HN - Alright, you put yours to work and I'll put mine to work, but I'm not a coward like you brother, 'cause you ran off and got Lil Bobby Hutton killed and I stayed here to face the gas, you see. But you're a coward 'cause you didn't attack me this morning, you attacked the Chief. You attacked him but you wanted to say my name, you see. So you're a coward, you're a punk, you understand.

EC - Say Huey...

HN - You're a punk!

EC - I think you've lost your ability to reason brother

HN - Hey brother, you heard what I called you and that's what I feel about you now. You're a punk!

EC - I wouldn't call you that, you see

Huey hung up. End of conversation.

PAGE 10 RIGHT ON! SATURDAY, APRIL 3, 1971

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER:

Within revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organizations involved in people's war, there has always existed the problem of maintaining the unity of the political and military leadership. Ideally, a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organization involved in the people's struggle and the people's war does away with the classical and bourgeois form of organization in which the political leadership of the organization is represented by one element and the professional standing army exists to deal with the military aspect. In a people's struggle there is no distinction between the military and the political because everyone has to deal with both of these elements.

Once upon a time the Black Panther Party had no problem on that level. When the Party was a small organization, it wasn't a very well known organization, it didn't have any political prisoners around which we had to indulge in mass activity. It was just Panthers, pigs, and guns. And the leadership was a unitary leadership that had to relate to the business of the Party. The problem did not arise until Huey was arrested. It's very important to realize that when Huey was arrested, the Party no longer had on the streets a leadership focus. In the first place, when Huey was arrested Bobby Seale was in prison. He was in jail serving time for the Sacramento bust, then in Alameda County for another five gun charge that he had there. So at the time Huey was busted in October of 1967, Bobby Seale was in jail until the end of December or the beginning of January, right around then. We didn't have a very sophisticated political analysis and machinery to deal with things like that and we had to move in terms of practice. Of course, we had principles to guide us, but we were immediately aware of the problems created by the fragmentation of the leadership. We worked out communications channels between the Party and Huey. Bobby Seale got out. So, in effect, we were once again able to pull back together the focus of leadership.

And still there were always problems and criticism about some people who wanted to move in a purely military fashion, and from the guys who were more oriented to the military aspect there were criticisms of those who were too much involved in the political aspect of mass mobilization. Objectively, both are in error. Both of these are mistakes in principle. There was some attempt made to bring our practice more in harmony with our theory along that line, but still I think that those of us who paid less attention to the Party know that this has been a continuing problem.

Now the contradiction developed and developed and developed. The Party itself developed into a very bureaucratic machinery of dealing with mass demonstrations, around political prisoners, publishing newspapers, putting out leaflets and all of that mass mobilization apparatus, rallies, the whole ability to do that. Much of the Party's resources and personnel were channeled into that. Those who were dedicated to mass mobilization tended to ignore and select people out of the mass of the Party who were similarly oriented. And cats who didn't fit into that, were kind of shuttled to the side, dropped out of the Party, and all kinds of things. This contradiction presented itself as a critical situation that had to be resolved when the Panthers first started offing the courts because in the first place the whole contradiction arose over how to deal with the system. And the focus of our contact with the system was the court situation. And all this mass mobilization was around political prisoners, jails, court appearances, and so forth. So that the mass mobilization campaign is a symbol of the form of dealing with that.

The best example that we have of another

alternative way of dealing with it is in the case of Jonathan Jackson. And even though Jonathan Jackson was not a member of the Black Panther Party, we have no problem or contradiction in relating to the great revolutionary initiative he took. In the first place, the Black Panther Party is a vanguard organization. It is not a mass membership organization and its job is to vanguard tactics and disseminate information so that the people will know how to move and how to move on target. The type of action that Jonathan Jackson took has everything to do with the way the Black Panther Party was moving, helping to create the right climate, helping to discredit the judiciary and turn people against it so that the gun would be picked up. Jonathan Jackson represents some of



ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
MINISTER OF INFORMATION

the fruit of the work of the Black Panther Party. So that when brothers start offing the courts, going underground, and rejecting that whole scene there is still a need for mass mobilization. But it's not correct to say that the man who has offed the courts and gone underground no longer has any politics, because that is politics, that is the supreme form of politics — war. So that we have to look at all these elements to see just what is going on.

One of the charges brought against Geronimo was that he had the audacity to ask for money from Central. It's clear that a brother living in that situation being searched for high and low by the pigs has a great need for money, and when politics is being transformed into war, and we know that this is the trend, this is the way history is moving, the way we want it to move, then the duties of the above ground apparatus becomes one of relating to and enthusiastically

supporting the underground.

One of the primary responsibilities of those above ground is to see to it that the underground has the resources that it needs to function, otherwise there is no reason for the existence of that above ground apparatus. Because the needs of our struggle are to wage the people's war, and that's a valid vanguard point of our whole apparatus, and that's what has to be related to because that's where our victory is going to come from. This doesn't mean that we don't still have any of the obligations and the need to mobilize on the above ground level around our political prisoners and so forth. We still have that need. But when people have conflicts in their own mind, when they see a contradiction there should be no contradiction between the underground and the above ground. In successful struggles there aren't because it's one and the same organization moving. So when the divisions arise when we relate only one sidedly, then we have a tendency to begrudge everything on the other side. We have a tendency to be uncooperative, all kinds of little personality things come up which cause these problems and we're dealing with a situation of life and death. And people who have transformed politics into war take a very dim view of people who don't understand that and don't relate to that and patience is very short and there is no real need for too much patience or discussion.

Now this contradiction is something that developed while Huey was in jail, because before this was all united and pulled together in Huey. Now Huey comes out of prison. The contradiction is already there. You could tell that there was some faith and hope in the brothers who had gotten down that Huey would be able to deal with it, be able to resolve the contradiction. But Huey came out into the arms of this right-wing bureaucratic apparatus. The Black Panther Party has developed a left wing and a right wing. The right wing is based on the whole apparatus that relates to the mass organizing, the legal, above ground apparatus, and then the brothers who are moving outlaw, underground, those who have gotten down — those who have transformed politics into war — constitute the left wing of the Party. So that Huey went to jail in October of 1967 and he got out in August of 1970. Now during the time that Huey was on the streets before October 1967 the Party was very small in numbers and membership and very local in structure. It had gotten to be widely known following the incident in Sacramento and so forth, and particularly when a pig, Frey, was found dead on the ground in Oakland, the Party became even more widely known. The Black Panther Party was mobilized and developed and grew from a very small nucleus into a national and international organization prior to Huey being released in August 1970.

Now this doesn't mean that he doesn't know anything about that, because he was in prison and he had certain information, but if you look at how this information came to him, through Garry and these other lawyers, and from my own experience I know that you can read all the newspapers and listen to all the visitors you want to, but you're only getting a minute portion of the information that's floating around in the environment outside. And it hurts. It limits your ability to make decisions on important problems. And you can feel it and you know it. You've got big problems in terms of keeping up on things. You can get the broad sweep of events, you can deal with that, you can still move from jail and be in harmony on that level, but in terms of those details, in terms of the daily conflicts and arguments that go down in the office, you are out of touch with that. And you can believe that whenever these conflicts came up, the information that went to

Huey didn't come from the people who were getting messed over. Huey's information came from David Hilliard and Garry and all these people. So that the information was one-sided, that over a period of time, you can see how he wouldn't have all the information he would need to make decisions on those kinds of contradictions, those kind of conflicts.

That's very important, because Huey has signed this statement on Geronimo. But analyzing that document we see that the grievance that the underground brothers had were against David Hilliard and June Hilliard. The first demand was that they had to go. Then later on things developed and they said they were going to off David and June. So that you can see that the brothers were trying to deal with it and trying to get Huey to relate to it. But at the pace with which Huey has been moving and the lack of knowledge about the details of his situation, the fact that he has only really been out of prison a few months puts him in a position where he thinks he understands what's happening, but really doesn't. And when Huey put out the behavior of David and his crew was exemplary. They didn't go around doing the same shit that had people up tight. They were probably very beautiful brothers, very helpful, very efficient, doing whatever Huey said to do, kept shit moving, so that was all right with him. That was good, and that's what he needs. And anyway, he'd want to know about whatever just grievances were coming down while he wasn't there. Because as things he saw were picked up. All kinds of things had to be straightened out and Huey would have a tendency to look at these complaints as just something that had to be dealt with and ignored so that we could get rid of all the internal antagonisms. But the people who had these deep experiences and grievances, they weren't in a position to just forget that. But they held back. And you see that they did hold back because nothing happened during that time, and Geronimo was right there when Huey got out, they were all together. Geronimo wasn't underground then.

Another important thing is the centralization that Huey started in the Party after he got out. Before David was there on the scene and Huey was over there in prison, and David was dealing.

Now David is still there, and Huey is right behind him, backing him. So that increases the authority that he has so that he is able to do things and it's not just automatically that Huey would be able to see the effects of the choices and the decisions and the way things are moving, he wouldn't be able to detect it and connect that with past activity. That's extremely important, because all these things are involved.

Whether or not David and June can be replaced is beyond a doubt. An organization of our type is supposed to be a self-perpetuating mechanism and it would be very shocking if someone would say that the life and death of the Black Panther Party depended upon David Hilliard remaining Chief of Staff and June Hilliard remaining Assistant Chief of Staff. And this becomes important because this was the demand by the underground brothers on the case of David and June Hilliard that they be removed.

So that what we're faced with brothers and sisters, is the possible destruction, well destruction, of the Black Panther Party growing out of an inability to resolve its own internal contradictions. It's not going to stop the progress of the struggle of black people for their liberation. What it's going to do is eliminate an organization that is not able to adapt itself to new conditions of struggle.



D.C.

I never have related to the robot mentality that's able to produce by an erroneous application of Marxism-Leninism because that shit when it is used wrong can lock a motherfucker's mind down and have him beating somebody in the head, wrong. Marxism-Leninism is designed to insure discipline and democratic centralism. When you don't apply all of it, you see it's not just centralism involved, in a Marxist-Leninist organization, you're a fool to relate to it if it's just centralism, it's democratic centralism. And if you have an organizational structure or theory of organization and you just take part of it, then you're giving with it. If you're going to apply the Marxist-Leninist theory of organization to the Black Panther Party and only practice centralism, then you're messing over the people in the Party and that's what's been wrong with some of that practice. It's been centralism and no democratic practice.

You can see why people who have successfully practiced Marxism-Leninism put emphasis on these things, that you must have internal criticism, and self-criticism, you have unity, criticism, and unity. You can't neglect that, if you neglect that, you're going to fall off into all kinds of factionalism, all kind of bullshit, and they say that, we read that, and we don't relate to it, some of us don't relate to it, but cats who relate to it always end up arguing with other cats. But through this kind of experience it just serves to expose what's wrong with the practice involved.

I think that this shows you, shows all of us very clearly that we have to first of all, it has

everything to do with political education class, we have to understand absolutely that everyone of us must understand all of the elements in the theory that we're functioning on so that when shit goes down you have the mental resources to analyze that shit right. And that's why it is necessary to study. You know that we're a Marxist-Leninist organization, they got a lot of people in the Party who just say our philosophy is Marxism-Leninism and even quote something about dialectical materialism.

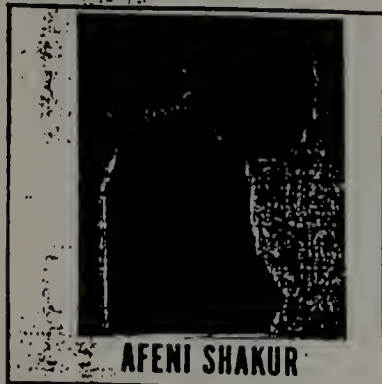
The important thing is this: Marxism is the economic analysis, Leninism, and the reason they gave the man the respect of adding his name to this, is because he supplied another important element. How the program of action, Lenin invented the form of the Party. When Marx was there he just had a big fat wanky thang, a big old First International, he had Bakunin and all those motherfuckerers that shit wasn't working men, and Bakunin was steady tearing that motherfucker down, but Lenin studied the practice and experience of the first International, he checked out what Bakunin was doing is absolutely right and necessary, and what Marx is doing is necessary, but — neither one of them was doing it right, Marx wasn't relating to the military and Bakunin wasn't relating to the Political shit. So Lenin resolved the contradiction by creating the form of a Party that could move on both levels at the same time. That's how he resolved that contradiction. He analyzed that shit, wrote it down, people started adopting that to apply to their own struggle. So the cats who have understood that end applied it right. Whew! they've moved.



Zayd & D.C.

ON THE CONTRADICTIONS OF THE NEW YORK 25 - DON COX (D.C.)

The information that we have here is that they were expelled from the Black Panther Party because of this open letter to the Weathermen underground from the Panther 21. Well, we have a copy here of this statement, we have it from several sources, we've read it, we've analyzed it and we see no reason, there's nothing in the article that would justify anyone being expelled. The only thing that the article reflects is the fact that the doors within the Black Panther Party are closed to criticism and self-criticism and ideological struggle. So the brothers resorted to the only method that was available to them, just an open letter through another organ to present their ideas and views and there're many very correct views, many views that should be studied and analyzed by members of the Black Panther Party, in particular and the masses of people in America in general.



AFENI SHAKUR

And there's nothing, there's nothing in the letter that would warrant their expulsion and we demand that they be reinstated into the Black Panther Party and publicly apologized to. That leads us to the next problem here. Michael 'Cetewayo' Tabor and Richard 'Dharuba' Monroe and Connie Matthews. All of our information on that situation still has not felled but from what we see, it is a repeat of the same thing. I think that a week before, there was this article by Connie Matthews in the paper and the next week she's an enemy of the people. Michael 'Cetewayo' Tabor, who spoke at the Constitutional Convention and Dharuba who's very well known and respected in New York - all of a sudden they're enemies of the people. People cannot make these rash judgements and go off of misinformation to do these things, there must be proper investigation, all people involved must be consulted - especially when you sign an article, 'Central Committee of the Black Panther Party'. I say again, there are three (3) members of the Central Committee here in the International Section and we had no information, we were not consulted on that decision and we don't know anything about it and we don't want nothing to do with it and we say that they should be reinstated and publicly apologized to also.



KATHLEEN CLEAVER - REPLY TO THE ARTICLE "FREE KATHLEEN"

It is a very sad thing to see the Black Panther Party newspaper, which started out as a revolutionary, vanguard newspaper that revolutionized the entire underground press, being turned into a low-down, scandal sheet to vent personal grudges and jealousy and make underhanded backstabbing, personal attacks. Here we witness, the concern, the depth of the concern for advancing any type of revolutionary information at the direction of David Hillard and his clique of reactionaries and the paper has become bogged down in petty, personal issues, like some Hollywood gossip column. The last issue of the Black Panther newspaper, with this ridiculous headline, "Free Kathleen", is absurd and it has been taken a valid political slogan and turned it into something pathetic, and ridiculous. It just makes people want to disassociate themselves from this, it turns people off. But we're not surprised by this tactic, because it's been progressively being used because there's an inability to express the political reality involved. In the case of Connie Matthews; Cetewayo, Dharuba, in the case of Geronimo and most dangerously and most outrageously, now in the case of Eldridge Cleaver.

These vicious, distorted, perverse lies in the Black Panther newspaper have been presented specifically to destroy the fruits of labor that have gone into building the International Section of the Black Panther Party and to discredit the solid working relationship we have established here with revolutionary governments and liberation movements that support our struggle. But these tactics, which are devoid of all political content, not to mention revolutionary inspiration, are nothing new. Eldridge Cleaver has been subjected to very revolting insults, threats and lies, personally by Huey Newton over the telephone. These tactics just represent, a weird last stand on the part of David Hillard and his revisionist lackeys to maintain a position they no longer deserve and that they cannot carry out. We see these people degenerating into a concern for nothing but distortion and destruction on the part of David Hillard and his lackeys. Whatever these revisionist dogs can't control, they put themselves in a position where the only alternative they can use is slander, sabotage and destruction.

As a result of their efforts over a long period of time, all the struggling work, that has gone into making the Black Panther Party and the Black Panther Party newspaper a tool worthy of serving the people has been stifled and sabotaged, this is going to be dealt with. David Hillard and his counter-revolutionary clique, they have betrayed Geronimo; they have betrayed the Panther cadre jailed in New York, they have betrayed brothers and sisters who

have shed their blood for the freedom of Huey P. Newton and for the Black Panther Party and now they have betrayed Eldridge and they have betrayed me. And they are betraying Bobby Seale, they are betraying the Afro-American Liberation Struggle and they're betraying the American Revolution. The people are not standing for their foolishness and blindness much longer and they're going to be swept away to their proper place in oblivion.

In our case, as in others, particularly in the case of Geronimo, David Hillard and his counter-revolutionary crew of snakes, have played the role of aiding and abetting the pigs in their efforts to crush revolutionary people and revolutionary activity. Apparently it is not enough for the pigs to rip Panthers off left and right, jail Panthers and murder Panthers, these lackeys, under the direct leadership of David Hillard, seem to feel that they must help them all that they can. I want to make it very clear to everyone, that I am fully dedicated to the goals espoused by the Black Panther Party when it stood as a vanguard force in the Afro-American Liberation Struggle and played a vanguard role in the American Revolution. I have pledged my life to the liberation of Black people in the United States and I will never back up on this commitment. But I want to make it very clear, it must be understood, that the cliques of counter-revolutionaries, under the leadership of David Hillard based in Oakland, California, and the Black Panther Party are not synonymous. And when dead weight crops up we have to move on it.

The Black Panther Party is a revolutionary machinery, it developed out of the need of the liberation of Black people within the United States and it has been built by hundreds of thousands of people all over the United States. Whenever injustices, excesses and distortions of basic principles come forward it is the duty of a revolutionary to eliminate them as to eliminate any other obstacles that crop up to block the progress of the liberation struggle of Black people within the United States. I cannot face the name as part of this clique of backstabbing, backsliding snakes who are conspiring on the suffering of Black people and Black Panther Party members for their own selfishness at the expense of the innocent victims of their misguided blunders. I will not contribute to this force, but I must make every effort I possibly can to stop it from continuing and destroying people's lives and people's liberty. Now this is the real reason why I am not at this rally at the Oakland Auditorium, which we over here were not informed about until we read about it in the Black Panther newspaper, as we are not informed about so many other things that happened in the Black Panther Party. I feel that if communications had been kept faithfully, honestly and openly, many severe mistakes of judgement and betrayals of principles could have been avoided and many problems could have been prevented. But it has become very clear to us, over a long period of time (approximately 20 months) that this block on communications is only part of the overall calculations of David Hillard and his counter-revolutionary clique to distort and corrupt the basic principles underlying the Black Panther Party and to transform the Black Panther Party from a revolutionary vanguard organization to a ridiculous showcase of cowards and containment.

While these latest cases of slander, purge, these attacks on hard working revolutionary comrades, who are facing serious penalties for the contributions they've made to building the Black Panther Party and advancing the revolutionary struggle of Afro-American people within the United States, have received widespread, negative publicity. There have been hundreds of other less dramatic, similar cases where the victims have not been so well known and who felt that they had no recourse after a long train of abusive, reactionary moves on the part of this clique, calling itself the Central Committee, hundreds of beautiful brothers and sisters who had dedicated their lives, dedicated their talents, their hearts, everything they had to the struggle for Black people for their liberation in the U.S. have been forced out of the Party and prevented from joining with their comrades in fighting U.S. fascist. Comrades in jail have been fronted off, joined on. Brothers in exile, brothers underground have been practically ignored. This destructive trend must be stopped, it will be stopped. The Party will be strengthened again and will be able to march forward again with

true revolutionary dedication and go about the business of destroying the enemy and strengthening the people. We are confident that the process of renewal will enable all the people that have been turned off, turned away, turned around, to take on new hope and new courage and to come forward and take their rightful place as revolutionary vanguard soldiers and proceed with the duties of our revolutionary war in America, without the blocking of the counter-revolutionary dogs that will apparently stop or nothing to put themselves out front, regardless of the views of the people and the needs of the struggle and we will not tolerate this any longer and we're moving to advance our struggle and advance our Party to a higher level and it's Right On.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
Kathleen Cleaver
Communications Secretary
International Section, Algiers Algeria
Black Panther Party



MICHAEL CETEWAYO TABOR - ON THE CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

What I specifically want to deal with here is the internal contradictions that exist within the ranks of the Black Panther Party and several other things. I think it's best to begin with the time I was first released from jail after the 21 bust. I came out around the latter part of July, early August 1970. This was approximately a week before the release of the then Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, Huey P. Newton. It was also around the time of the Planning Session of the forthcoming Constitutional Convention. The Planning Session was held in Washington, D.C. After that the former Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party, David Hilliard, informed me to come to the West Coast to meet Huey P. Newton and to receive instructions as to how to move on the situation in N.Y. My initial impression of Huey was a good one, it was right on. However, it was soon revealed that the brother was bewildered and baffled as a result of stepping out of the penitentiary after over 2 1/2 years and finding himself in command of a nationwide organization. Whereas prior to his going to jail the Party was a small one and a local one consisting of less than 30 members. One of the grave mistakes and errors that was perpetrated at that time was that, upon his release, the only ear that he heard, the only ear in fact that he would listen to, was that of the then Chief of Staff, David Hilliard, who during the period of Huey's incarceration and after Eldridge had cut out and after Bobby's arrest, had assumed full control of the Party apparatus and was also in control of determining the political policies of the Party.

David Hilliard, during that period of time had perpetrated deeds that could only be called criminal. They were gross and hideous violations of all revolutionary principles. He notably and consciously set brothers up to be

arrested. He was opposed to all military activity and he moved very heavily against those brothers in the Party who were set down brothers and who did relate, in fact, to revolutionary principles.

In time, this led to what can only be called the ideological split in the Party, with the revisionists headed by David Hilliard and working in close conjunction with him his brother June Hilliard and several others. On one hand, the right side that is, and on the other hand, on the left hand, there were the revolutionary brothers, those whose allegiance was to revolutionary principles and to the ideology, the true ideology of the Party and not to any one personality. These brothers were deliberately and knowingly stifled and blocked by David Hilliard from establishing any real rapport with the people and from dealing with the pigs in a righteous revolutionary fashion. In time it's understandable, that many of these brothers became, many sisters also, became disenchanted and their morale became crushed and they began to drift away from the Party one by one. Those who attempted to deal with the situation, by using revolutionary principles of criticism and self-criticism, and attempted to enforce democratic centralism, a principle that had been abandoned by the Party since David Hilliard became in control of the Party apparatus, were expelled from the Party or, not only were they expelled from the Party, but they were branded renegades and traitors to the people and a long list of other names that I wouldn't even waste time to go off into.

Huey, not long after being released from prison, began to drift off into the same bag as David. This was evidenced on a number of occasions and in many ways, there were several manifestations of this. First of all, they both showed a very cold and callous attitude towards the well-being of the troops, the cadre, which is the backbone of the Black Panther Party. They refused to attend to visit Party offices and branches. This is most clearly seen in Oakland, California itself, where the National Headquarters of the Party was located, and there despite the fact that both of them lived in that area, they only, on a few occasions, after Huey's release, went to the office to speak to the troops. This in itself, was a violation of our commitment. We failed to criticize this properly, we failed to take a firm stand on it. We were still relating too heavily to an image and we felt within our hearts that in a short time Huey, who we had invested so much time, energy, blood, sweat and tears towards in securing his release, which he failed to live up to, that the people had of him, not the expectations that were superman, but we just wanted him to be a righteous and truly dedicated servant of the people.

The conditions and the situation got progressively worse. He began to take notice of the fact that a considerable amount of money was being devoted toward the buying of clothes. We began to take note of the fact that \$40 and \$50 and \$60 was being spent on breakfasts. We began to take note of the fact that political prisoners, brothers and sisters, righteous, dedicated revolutionaries who had shed blood and had risk their lives in order to secure the liberation of Black people in particular and all oppressed people in general were left languishing in penitentiaries throughout Babylon. These brothers and sisters had to, damn near get on their knees to get \$5 for commissary, while Huey P. Newton and David Hilliard just wallowed in luxury. We began to take notice of many other things. The contradictions became more blatant, more blatant and more clear especially in view of the fact that the cadres in the street, the brothers and sisters, the backbone of the Party, were virtually starving to death. Many of them were running around with no shoes on their feet. Many of them were out on street corners, day and night, selling papers, damn near naked. But because of their dedication, because of their belief in the brother, Huey P. Newton and because they believed he was right on, they didn't beef about this.

The morale situation in the Party progressively deteriorated, it went from bad to worse. This time it culminated with the fiasco of

the so called Constitutional Convention in Washington, D.C. in November 1970. It was at that point that the masses of the people and also the cadre of the Party felt that it was now their duty, indeed their obligation, to stand up and voice their criticisms would have to be listened to and explanations would have to be given, explanations explaining why the Party had virtually abandoned all military activity, explanations dealing with why the community programs were damn near total fiasco. Explanations dealing with why political prisoners were not receiving any support, explanations why Huey P. Newton and David Hilliard alone with June Hilliard, John Seale and several others were just squandering the Party's funds on their own personal needs and saving the hell with the cadre. When these criticisms were voiced, they were immediately silenced, what resulted at that point then, on the part of Huey Newton and David Hilliard and that clique, in order to maintain their power, they began pushing the line of "We must have blind obedience and unquestioning loyalty to the leadership." It was not the duty or the function of the cadre to inquire as to what the leaders of the Party were doing with the money, how they were living or what they were off into. It was made known, explicitly clear, that anyone that asked those type of questions would be dealt with severely, they might even in fact be killed.

By January of 1971, to me it became undeniably clear, that certain fundamental and basic changes had to be effectuated in the Black Panther Party, in order to restore the true image of the Party to the people, in order to become what the Party was originally intended to be, a vanguard Party, who is willing to lay down their lives to secure the liberation of the masses and also to meet the basic needs of the people. But it was also clear it would be impossible to bring about these changes, to come any longer and criticize them and to point out to them their mistakes, because by this time they had become totally unresponsive to any type of criticism. So in the Eastern part of the country we began moving on the situation in a different manner. We began to emphasize to the cadre that their allegiance should not be to one individual, but rather, to the principles of revolutionary struggle.

Another very tragic and demoralizing, in fact, humiliating occurrence went down in the form of the Party paper, which was originally, for sometime, was the true political organ by which Black people were educated as to the realities of their situation in Babylon. Under the leadership and direction of David Hilliard, the Party paper deteriorated into a scandal sheet. Full with redundant articles that no longer educated the people but rather only confused and turned them off. After the release of Huey P. Newton, the situation rather than moving progressively for the better, did just the opposite, it became worse. An order was handed down that the branches and chapters of the Black Panther Party would have to double the sale of the Party paper. It meant that also if a branch was one penny short on their paper bill, the next week they would receive no papers at all. The situation developed to such an extent where they began to measure the revolutionary capability and revolutionary sincerity of the cadre by way of how many papers they sold. That became the yard stick for whom a brother was at. If you sold 200 papers a day, you was right on. But if you got out there and you really began trying to relate to the people and doing something more than just selling the paper then you were subject to severe criticisms, and in many cases expulsion and punishment possibly on a whipping. Brothers and sisters, the cadre were subjected to all types of abuse and humiliations. When they went out into the streets, the people would cease to relate to them as Panthers, because they just weren't relating to the people anymore. Not because they didn't want to, but because they were being consciously and deliberately misguided by the leadership in the form of the Oakland clique. The people stopped coming up to them and inquiring what was in the latest copy of the Black Panther

PAGE 8 RIGHT ON! SATURDAY, APRIL 3, 1971

An Open Letter to the People From 'Bobby Hutton'

This message pertains to the exposure of contradictions and act-violations within the Black Panther Party. It is directed to the world public in general and to the Black colonies of Babelon in particular.

Following the exposure of these contradictions, there has been an all-out campaign on the part of a clique based in Oakland, California, under the guidance and dictatorship of David Hilliard, to either withhold the facts from the

the Party was moving on their needs or their pleas, the New York 21 drafted a letter to the underground Weathermen. This letter to the Weathermen was labeled by Hilliard & Co. as an "insult", and the New York 21 were branded as traitors and pigs and purged from the Black Panther Party.

Now this purge, this abandonment, along with other recent abandonments, was given to the people as originating from the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party. It so

turns, the only central committee they could possibly be on is that of the FBI.

Let's move to the case of Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt. He is in the words of Michael Tabor, "a right on brother who will get down, has got down and knows how to get down in any situation." "Geronimo" was loved by everybody who ever met him on the level of revolutionary struggle, and he was respected by all. At one time Huey P. Newton even paid homage to this brother's

seemingly dispassionate in the penitentiary for manslaughter, resulting from the death of an Oakland pig in November 1968. Eldridge Cleaver was forced to change his base of operations to Algiers. Kathleen soon joined her husband there. In August 1969, Bobby Seale was indicted and extradited to Chicago for conspiracy to murder and conspiracy to kidnap. These conditions hurried David Hilliard unexpectedly to the forefront of the Black Panther Party. He became not only the number

vanguard to cadres of newspapers, vendors and baby sitters. For thirty-three long months Huey Newton talked every day with political prisoners who wanted to strangle their captors and rip down the walls to liberate themselves. Huey's response to this? A "bumming program" set up to cart people to the penitentiaries on mating days.

To be very blunt about it, Huey Newton came out of prison more like a kitten than a Panther.

So we return now to the



resort to slander and blatant untruths. It is only necessary to mention briefly the depths to which the formerly Black Panther newspaper has descended in order to distort, withhold or lie about pertinent facts. It is therefore necessary to break through the Oakland information block and shed some light on the situation.

Focus your attention on the expulsion from the Black Panther Party of the New York 21 and to that of Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt. These are by no means the only cases worthy of mention, but they are prime examples of the kinds of underhandedness and dirty work that has been led by David Hilliard (ex-Chief of Staff) and his gang of lackeys in Oakland, California.

You will recall that the New York 21 was based on bomb conspiracy charges. They have been in the world's worst jail for many months, and during this time several problems of a serious nature have sprung up which called for active moves on the part of the Black Panther Party. Some of the problems were of a highly legal, technical nature, some involved bail and some had to do with much needed contacts. Members of the New York 21 wrote letters after letters, addressed to the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party, stating their predicament and outlining what was necessary to protect their lives and their freedom. David Hilliard's clique chose not only to ignore those letters but kept them secret from other key members in the Party. Because

happens, however, that Bobby Seale, Eldridge Cleaver, his wife Kathleen and Don Cox (D.C.) are and have long been (since the early beginnings of the Black Panther Party) active members of the Central Committee. Yet none of these committee members were informed about the purges and expulsions, nor were they consulted. They made the shocking discoveries only after reading about them in the (formerly) Black Panther newspaper. This is a situation in which high-ranking, faithful members of the Party were kept in the dark about matters that were of the most vital importance and concern to them, a situation in which two or three individuals took it upon themselves to act as the whole central committee, a situation in which the lowest of deeds was committed against revolutionaries of the highest order — brothers and sisters who, more than once, were tried and found true.

The question to ask at this point is just who, then, is the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party? If we judge from the recent expulsions and purges not only of individuals but also of entire Party branches, then we must conclude that the Central Committee is David Hilliard, Huey P. Newton and June Hilliard, supported by such reactionary lackeys as Massai Hewitt, "Big Man", Doug Mirandas and Emory Douglas.

Well, there's only one thing to say about that. Given the counter-revolutionary manner in which that Oakland-based clique have dealt

dedication by saying, "If anything ever happens to me, then 'Geronimo' is to take my position of leadership in the Black Panther Party."

The Los Angeles pig department will also vouch for "Geronimo's" revolutionary spirit for he, along with several other righteous warriors, held off a pig attack for five hours — shot for shot — and walked away alive. Following this armed struggle with the Los Angeles military, "Geronimo" was indicted for attempted murder. This forced him underground and as soon as he went into hiding he discovered that he was suddenly abandoned by that Oakland gang on Perilla Street. Without the much needed help during this period of urgent desperation, Elmer Pratt was captured in Texas. Soon afterwards, every revolutionary in Babelon was shocked to read that "Geronimo" had been labeled traitor by David Hilliard & Co., and as a final fiendish act he was purged from the Black Panther Party for life!

This kind of thing violates every revolutionary principle. We can't have it and we won't. Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt is a revolutionary in the truest sense. He devoted his life, put his life on the line, because he believed in the Party, had faith in the people and believed in what he was doing. In return he was seized by the pig Texas Rangers, a direct result of betrayal by David Hilliard and his clique in Oakland, California.

And to what can all of this be traced?

In October 1968, Huey P. Newton was tried, convicted and

one spokesman for the Party, but also the sole adviser to Huey P. Newton and attorney Charles R. Garry, and it was David Hilliard alone who determined Party strategy and policy.

Like a man craved with hunger for recognition, David Hilliard missed the opportunity to latch onto this newfound power and authority. He wielded this power and authority like a hatchet, taking the head of any comrade who questioned or criticized his actions. Slowly but relentlessly he leaped on every opportunity to centralize all power in the grip of his neatly manicured and expensively ringed fingers.

During this same period, the Black Panther Party was enjoying glorious days, and more and more the people greeted that it was indeed the vanguard of the revolution in America. This stemmed largely from the tremendous efforts put forth by the countless thousands of people to "Free Huey". For thirty-three months Huey sat in a prison cell as the Black Panther Party grew from a local cadre to a national organization. And throughout all of this, David Hilliard's mouth whispered distortions and misinformation into the ear of Huey P. Newton.

When Huey was released from prison in August 1970, there was only one person who really knew what was going on in the Black Panther Party — David Hilliard. He told Huey only what he wanted him to know, and Huey's direction was established by the point of David's finger.

Since August 1970, the Black Panther Party has progressively swerved from the position of

case of the New York 21 and to the case of Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt. We add to those cases the recent slur tactics (as Kathleen Cleaver describes them) to which the (formerly) Black Panther newspaper has degenerated, we add the record of the many members who have resigned in droves from the Party; we recall and add the purges and expulsions of not only individual members but of entire branches of the Party as well. And we add to the top of it all the expulsion from the Party of the entire International Section in Algiers.

As for the so-called "expulsion" of the International Section (which are nothing but a lot of hot air, signifying nothing) we note that it came in the wake of Eldridge Cleaver's criticism of the counter-revolutionary acts that were taking place, and it only serves further to demonstrate the extent to which that Oakland clique will go to silence criticism.

But the simple fact is that neither the Black Panther Party nor any person who is part of it is above or beyond criticism. And, despite our lack of present access to the news media, those of us who constitute the extreme left wing of the Black Panther Party will continue to criticize whenever criticism is needed to expose counter-revolutionary acts.

With all of our love to the revolutionary peoples of the world,

to all of the oppressed people of Babelon, to all of the black people in the black colonies in Babelon.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, April 17, 1971 C.

ON THE DEFECTION OF ELDRIDGE CLEAVER FROM THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND THE DEFECTION OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FROM THE BLACK COMMUNITY

By Huey P. Newton,

Minister of Defense of The Black Panther Party and Servant of The People

The Black Panther Party bases its ideology and philosophy on a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, using dialectical materialism as our analytical method. As dialectical materialists we recognize that contradictions can lead to development. The internal struggle of opposites based upon their unity causes matter to have motion as a part of the process of development. We recognize that nothing in nature stands outside of dialectics, even the Black Panther Party. But we welcome these contradictions, because they clarify and advance our struggle. We had a contradiction with our former Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver. But we understand this as necessary to our growth. Out of this contradiction has come new growth and a new return to the original vision of the Party.

Early in the development of the Black Panther Party I wrote an essay titled "The Correct Handling of a Revolution". This was in response to another contradiction - the criticisms raised against the Party by the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM). At that time RAM criticized us for our above-ground action -- openly displaying weapons and talking about the necessity for the community to arm itself for its own self-defense. RAM said that they were underground, and saw this as the correct way to handle a revolution. I responded to them by pointing out that you must establish your organization above ground so that the people will relate to it in a way that will be positive and progressive to them. When you go underground without doing this, you bury yourself so deeply that the people can neither relate to nor contact you. Then the terrorism of the underground organization will be just that--striking fear into the hearts of the very people whose interest the organization claims to be defending--because the people cannot relate to them and there is nobody there to interpret their actions. You have to set up a program of practical action and be a model for the community to follow and appreciate.



Huey P. Newton.

The original vision of the Party was to develop a lifeline to the people, by serving their needs and defending them against their oppressors who come to the community in many forms--from armed police to capitalist exploiters. We knew that this strategy would raise the consciousness of the people and also give us their support. Then, if we were driven underground by the oppressors, the people would support us and defend us. They would know that, in spite of the oppressor's interpretations, that our only desire was to serve their true interests; and they would defend us. In this manner we might be forced underground, but there would be a lifeline to the community which would always sustain us, because the people would identify with us and not with our common enemy.

For a time the Black Panther Party lost its vision and defected from the community. With the defection of Eldridge Cleaver, however, we can move again to a full scale development of our original vision and come out of the twilight zone which the Party has been in during the recent past.

The only reason that the Party is still in existence at this time, and the only reason that we have been able to survive the repression of the Party

and murders of some of our most advanced comrades is because of the Ten-Point Program -- our survival program. Our programs would be meaningless and insignificant if they were not community programs. This is why it is my opinion that as long as the Black community and oppressed people are found in North America the Black Panther Party will last. The Party will survive as a structured vehicle, because it serves the true interests of oppressed people and administers to their needs -- this was the original vision of the Party. The original vision was not structured by rhetoric nor by ideology. It was structured by the practical needs of the people, and its dreamers were armed with ideology which provided a systematic method of analysis of how best to meet those needs.

When Bobby Seale and I came together to launch the Black Panther Party, we had been through many groups. Most of them were so dedicated to rhetoric and artistic rituals that they had withdrawn from living in the Twentieth Century. Sometimes their analyses were beautiful, but they had no practical programs which would deliver their understandings to the people. When they did try to develop practical programs, they often failed, because they lacked a systematic ideology which would help them do concrete analyses of concrete conditions to gain a full understanding of the community and its needs. When I was in Donald Warden's Afro-American Association, I watched him try to make a reality of community control through Black Capitalism. But Warden did not have a systematic ideology, and his attempts to initiate his program continually frustrated him and the community too. They did not know why capitalism would not work for them, even though it had worked for other ethnic groups.

When we formed the Party, we did so because we wanted to put theory and practice together, in a systematic

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D. Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, April 17, 1971

ON THE DEFECTION OF ELDRIDGE CLEAVER FROM THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND THE DEFECTION OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FROM THE BLACK COMMUNITY

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manner. We did this through our basic Ten Point Program. In actuality it was a 20-Point Program, with the practice expressed in "What We Want" and the theory expressed in "What We Believe". This program was designed to serve as a basis for a structured political vehicle.

The actions we engaged in at that time were strictly strategic actions, for political purposes. They were designed to mobilize the community. Any action which does not mobilize the community toward the goal is not a revolutionary action. The action might be a marvelous statement of courage, but if it does not mobilize the people toward the goal of a higher manifestation of freedom, it is not making a political statement and could even be counter-revolutionary.

We realized at a very early point in our development, that revolution is a process. It is not a particular action, nor is it a conclusion. It is a process. This is why when feudalism wiped out slavery, feudalism was revolutionary. This is why when capitalism wiped out feudalism, capitalism was revolutionary. The concrete analysis of concrete conditions will reveal the true nature of the situation and increase our understanding. This process moves in a dialectical manner and we understand the struggle of the opposites based upon their unity.

Many times people say that our Ten-Point Program is reformist; but they ignore the fact that revolution is a process. We left the program open-ended, so that it could develop and people could identify with it. We did not offer it to them as a conclusion; we offered it as a vehicle to move them to a higher level. In their quest for freedom, and in their attempts to prevent the oppressor from stripping them of all the things they need to exist, the people see things as moving from A to B to C; they do not see things as moving from A to Z. In other words they have to see first some basic accomplishments, in order to realize that major successes are possible. Much of the time the revolutionary will



Huey P. Newton.

have to guide them into this understanding. But he can never take them from A to Z in one jump, because it is too far ahead. Therefore, when the revolutionary begins to indulge in Z, or final conclusions, the people do not relate to him. Therefore he is no longer a revolutionary, if revolution is a process. This makes any action or function which does not promote the process - non-revolutionary.

When the Party went to Sacramento, when the Party faced down the policemen in front of the office of Rampart's magazine, and when the Party patrolled the police with arms, we were acting (in 1966) at a time when the people had given up the philosophy of non-violent direct action and were beginning to deal with sterner stuff. We wanted them to see the virtues of disciplined and organized armed self-defense, rather than spontaneous and disorganized outbreaks and riots. There were Police Alert Patrols all over the country, but we were the first armed police patrol. We called ourselves the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. In all of this we had political and revolutionary objectives in mind, but we knew that we could not succeed without the

support of the people.

Our strategy was based on a consistent ideology, which helped us to understand the conditions around us. We knew that the law was not prepared for what we were doing and policemen were so shocked that they didn't know what to do. We saw that the people felt a new pride and strength because of the example we set for them; and they began to look toward the vehicle we were building for answers.

Later we dropped the term "Self-Defense" from our name and just became the Black Panther Party. We discouraged actions like Sacramento and police observations because we recognized that these were not the things to do in every situation or on every occasion. We never called these revolutionary actions. The only time an action is revolutionary is when the people relate to it in a revolutionary way. If they will not use the example you set, then no matter how many guns you have, your action is not revolutionary.

The gun itself is not necessarily revolutionary, because the fascists carry guns--in fact they have more guns. A lot of so-called revolutionaries simply do not understand the statement by Chairman Mao that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." They thought Chairman Mao said political power is the gun, but the emphasis is on grows. The culmination of political power is the ownership and control of the land and the institutions thereon, so that you can then get rid of the gun. That is why Chairman Mao makes the statement that, "We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun, it is necessary to take up the gun." He is always speaking of getting rid of it. If he did not look at it in those terms, then he surely would not be revolutionary. In other words, the gun by all revolutionary principles is a tool to be used in our strategy; it is not an end

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in itself. This was a part of the original vision of the Black Panther Party.

I had asked Eldridge Cleaver to join the Party a number of times. But he did not join until after the confrontation with the police in front of the office of Ramparts Magazine, where the police were afraid to go for their guns. Without my knowledge, he took this as the Revolution and the Party. But in our basic program it was not until Point 7 that we mentioned the gun, and this was intentional. We were trying to build a political vehicle through which the people could express their revolutionary desires. We recognized that no party or organization can make the revolution, only the people can. All we could do was act as a guide to the people. Because revolution is a process, and because the process moves in a dialectical manner. At one point one thing might be proper, but the same action could be improper at another point. We always emphasized a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, and then an appropriate response to these conditions as a way of mobilizing the people and leading them to higher levels of consciousness.

People constantly thought that we were security guards and community police or something like this. This is why we dropped the term "Self Defense" from our name and directed the attention of the people to the fact that the only way they would get salvation is through their control of the institutions which serve the community. This would require that they organize a political vehicle which would keep their support and endorsement through its survival programs of service. They would look to it for answers and guidance. It would not be an organization which runs candidates for political office, but it would serve as a watchman over the administrators whom the people have placed in office.

Because the Black Panther Party grows out of the conditions and needs of oppressed people, we are interested in everything the people are interested

in, even though we may not see these particular concerns as the final answers to our problems. We will never run for political office, but we will endorse and support those candidates who are acting in the true interests of the people. We may even provide campaign workers for them and do voter registration and basic precinct work. This would not be out of a commitment to electoral politics, however. It would be our way of bringing the will of the people to bear on situations in which they are interested. We will also hold such candidates responsible to the community, no matter how far removed their offices may be from the community. So we lead the people by following their interests, with a view toward raising their consciousness to see beyond particular goals.

When Eldridge joined the Party it was after the police confrontation, which left him fixated with the "either-or" attitude. This was that either the community picked up the gun with the Party or else they were cowards and there was no place for them. He did not realize that if the people did not relate to the Party, then there was no way that the Black Panther Party could make any revolution, because the record shows that the people are the makers of the revolution and of world history.

Sometimes there are those who express personal problems in political terms, and if they are eloquent, then these personal problems can sound very political. We charge Eldridge Cleaver with this. Much of it is probably beyond his control, because it is so personal. But we did not know that when he joined the Party, he was doing so only because of that act in front of Ramparts. We weren't trying to prove anything to ourselves, all we were trying to do, at that particular point, was defend Betty Shabazz. But we were praised by the people.

Under the influence of Eldridge Cleaver the Party gave the community no alternative for dealing with us, except by picking up the gun. This move

was reactionary simply because the community was not at that point. Instead of being a cultural cult group, we became, by that act, a revolutionary cult group. But this is a basic contradiction, because revolution is a process, and if the acts you commit do not fall within the scope of the process then they are non-revolutionary.

What the revolutionary movement and the Black community needs is a very strong structure. This structure can only exist with the support of the people and it can only get its support through serving them. This is why we have the service to the people program - the most important thing in the Party. We will serve their needs, so that they can survive through this oppression. Then when they are ready to pick up the gun, serious business will happen. Eldridge Cleaver influenced us to isolate ourselves from the Black community, so that it was war between the oppressor and the Black Panther Party, not war between the oppressor and the oppressed community.

The Black Panther Party defected from the community long before Eldridge defected from the Party. Our hook-up with white radicals did not give us access to the white community, because they do not guide the white community. The Black community does not relate to them, so we were left in a twilight zone, where we could not enter the community with any real political education programs; yet we were not doing anything to mobilize whites. We had no influence in raising the consciousness of the Black community and that is the point where we defected.

We went through a free speech movement in the Party, which was not necessary, and only further isolated us from the Black community. We had all sorts of profanity in our paper and every other word which dropped from our lips was profane. This did not happen before I was jailed, because I would not stand for it. But Eldridge's

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F. Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, April 17, 1971



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influence brought this about. I do not blame him altogether; I blame the Party because the Party accepted it.

Eldridge was never fully in the leadership of the Party. Even after Bobby was snatched away from us, I did not place Eldridge in a position of leadership, because he was not interested in that. I made David Hilliard administrator of programs. I knew that Eldridge would not do anything to lift the consciousness of the comrades in the Party. But I knew that he could make a contribution; and I pressed him to do so. I pressed him to write and edit the paper, but he wouldn't do it. The paper did not even come out every week until after Eldridge went to jail. But Eldridge Cleaver did make great contributions to the Black Panther Party with his writing and speaking. We want to keep this in mind, because there is a positive and negative side to everything.

The correct handling of a revolution is not to offer the people on "either-or" ultimatum. We must instead gain

the support of the people through serving their needs. Then when the police or any other agency of repression tries to destroy the program, the people will move to a higher level of consciousness and action. Then the organized structure can guide the people to the point where they are prepared to deal in many ways. This was the strategy we used in 1966 when we were related to in a positive way.

So the Black Panther Party has reached a contradiction with Eldridge Cleaver and he has defected from the Party, because we would not order everyone into the streets tomorrow to make a revolution. We recognize that this is impossible because our dialectics or ideology, our concrete analysis of concrete conditions say that it is a fantasy, because the people are not at that point now. This contradiction and conflict may seem unfortunate to some, but it is a part of the dialectical process. The resolution of this contradiction has freed us from incorrect

analyses and emphases.

We are now free to move toward the building of a community structure which will become a true voice of the people, promoting their interests in many ways. We can continue to push our basic survival program. We can continue to serve the people as advocates of their true interests. We can truly become a political revolutionary vehicle which will lead the people to a higher level of consciousness, so that they will know what they must really do in their quest for freedom, and they will have the courage to adopt any means necessary to seize the time and obtain that freedom.

HUEY P. NEWTON
MINISTER OF DEFENSE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE



THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, MARCH 20, 1971 PAGE 12

**WE STAND ROCK FIRM BEHIND
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
OUR BELOVED AND
COURAGEOUS CENTRAL COMMITTEE
AND OUR LEADER,
MINISTER OF DEFENSE
AND
SUPREME SERVANT OF
THE PEOPLE,
HUEY P. NEWTON**

Recently we were notified through the news media's various electronic trap-pings (namely, video tape) that we, Emory Douglas, Masai, Big Man, Bob Rush, and Doug Miranda, as members of the Black Panther Party, were considered "neutrol" and "vocil-



DOUG MIRANDA
Black Panther Party

lating" in regard to our allegiance to our Party and Central Committee, and, that we were to make our positions clear and "cleanse" the Party from top to bottom. As we are neither neutrol nor vacillatory, we take this opportunity to make ourselves explicitly clear:

Ever since the inception of the Black Panther Party by our courageous leaders, Minister of Defense, and Supreme Servant of the People, Huey P. Newton and our beloved Chairman continued from page 9

ANOTHER FASCIST

So on March 5th, Jenson decided he needed more time and he had David's trial continued until May 3rd, 1971. Just enough time to contrive some "evidence" and far enough in advance of the arrival of the attorney of David's choice, who cannot be here until June of this year. However, the court is "generously" going to allow David to discuss the fact that the attorney of his choice cannot appear in court on the date they've set for trial. On April 5th, he returns to court to argue that he be given the right to the at-

Bobby Seale, we have had the utmost of love, respect and reverence for the Party and its principles. For we know that our Party is based on loving, serving and meeting the needs of all the people. And we never separate ourselves from the People. We have never left the People, never stopped loving or



MASAI HEWITT
Minister of Education
Black Panther Party

serving the People. And because the Black Panther Party represents ultimate service to the People in the true interest of the People, we have never left the Party. And we have no intention of doing so. On this we have



BIG MAN
Dep. Minister of Information
Black Panther Party

never vacillated and never intend to. In terms of the Party's being "cleansed", the "sores" and "scabs" of dead weight and other corrosive elements of our Party (as were mentioned in these mass media video

RAILROAD OF OUR

torney of his choice.

All of this is part of a carefully planned, fascist plot to destroy the leadership of the Black Panther Party, as this is only one of a long series of legal attacks that have been launched against our Chief of Staff to jail him: the false charges from his Moratorium Speech (November, 1969) of threatening the life of the fascist president of the U.S.; a phony gun charge from February, 1968, (for which he was acquitted, stood retrial, convicted and is now appealing); a six-month contempt of



EMORY DOUGLAS
Minister of Culture
Black Panther Party

topes) are falling off and purging themselves. Thus, they are cleansing our Party, so that we remain the strong, invincible force we always were.

To use the words from our comrades in the San Quentin Branch of our Party, "We take our stand with



BOB RUSH
Dep. Minister of Defense
Illness Center
Black Panther Party

the Minister (Supreme Servant) Huey P. Newton", and his invincible thoughts and courageous leadership. "No ifs or but's about it."

Rock Firm with Undying love for our Party, our beloved Central Committee and the people,

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

EMORY DOUGLAS, MASAI HEWITT, BIG MAN, BOB RUSH AND DOUG MIRANDA

CHIEF OF STAFF

court charge (for which he served one month, after the charge was dropped) for being a black man trying to observe the fascist, racist New Haven court case of Chairman Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins; and now, this false charge stemming from April 6th, 1968.

But neither nappery, pigs, nor any force on earth can stop the Black Panther Party, our courageous leaders or the People!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

On the Assassination of Deputy Field Marshall Robert Webb

Within revolutionary organizations there always exist omnipresent contradictions of great importance: The contradictions between the political machinery and the military machinery. Those brothers and sisters who could prefer the mass organizing, deal with rallies, propaganda work and fund raising, etc., and those who could like to get down all the time, when it's time and time. In essence, within the ranks of a vanguard Party we come into being a right wing element and a left wing element. Such is the case concerning the contradictions within the Black Panther Party.

Sometimes, these contradictions can be resolved through non-violent solutions and a marriage between a political and the military takes place. Other times, cause of violence perpetrated by the right wing clique maintain its cowardly posture, the complete communion between the rhetoricians and the activists cannot take place. Again, such is the case concerning the contradictions that exist within the Black Panther Party.

On Monday, March 8, 1971, at approximately 3:00 PM, three of our brothers were walking east on 125th Street and 7th Ave in Harlem when they encountered 2 cops (who are aligned with the Huey P. Newton and David Hilliard clique) selling the 'Black Panther Newspaper'. As one of our comrades moved closer to confront the reactionary rag sheet, he was struck in the back of the head with a forty five. Brandishing 45's, AM's and 357 magnums, several other people emerged from out of nowhere. One person, whose name we do not know, shot a round from a 45 or 357 magnum into the back of Robert Webb's head. The bullet entered the back of his head and exited through his mouth. The locity of the bullet shattered the brother's brains. At 3:00 PM, the Central Headquarters of the Black Panther Party in New York received a call from Harlem Hospital informing us that our comrade Robert Webb was dead. This cold blooded murder was ordered by the former Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton. On a voodoo deal taped telephone conversation Huey P. Newton and our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, Newton stated, 'I'd like a better brother. We'll battle it.' Eldridge said that's not the best way to deal with Huey continued, 'Well this is the way I'm going to deal with it.' Eldridge replied, 'We'll see then O.K.' Huey then stated that he thought he had the guns and it he was going to put his guns to work.

On Sunday, March 7th, we received information from informed sources that Newton and David Hilliard had

sent 75 robots who are wired-up on their madness to come to New York City to murder Panthers here. Several days before brother Robert was shot in the back of the head, many of our parents and relatives - from coast to coast - had been contacted by the F.B.I. Hoover's hogs informed our families that they had received word that 'there was going to be a murder - and they felt it their duty to inform us.' This information corresponds directly with the information we received from other sources 24 hours before brother Robert was cut down in



Robert Webb

the streets of Harlem. The six or seven mad dog assassins who took his life were the first ones to arrive.

Brother Robert Earl Webb had been sent from San Francisco, California to help organize on the east coast more than a year and a half ago. He was loved and respected by all those who had ever met him. In the middle of January, Brother Robert stopped functioning with the New Haven Chapter of the Black Panther Party because of the many questions that went unanswered. He, like many of his comrades, wonder how Huey and David could run around cleaner than the Board of Health, while the troops (rank and file Panthers) were regaller than a bowl of yek. Or how Huey could live in an extravagant penthouse and David purchase a \$65,000.00 house while the Panthers in New Haven, Connecticut (who lived in the Party headquarters there) live in a house that didn't have any heat or running water - in below zero weather. Brother Robert is the Party headed by the Oakland, California clique because he had a family to feed. He also was a get down brother.

It also should be remembered that it was our slain comrades who directed the press conference in New York City on March 1, announcing that the New York Chapter, the New Jersey Chapter and the International Section of the Black Panther Party had called for the resignation and/or dismissal of David and June Hilliard.

We hereby charge the puppet Huey P. Newton and his puppeteer, David Hilliard with murder. We have documented evidence that these two madmen gave the orders to have Brother Robert Webb killed. We now declare for the world to hear that Huey P. Newton, David Hilliard and their lackeys in Oakland, California owe the people of the world a tremendous debt - a debt that can only be paid in blood.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF OUR DEPUTY FIELD
MARSHALL ROBERT WEBB
DEATH TO THOSE WHO DON'T DESERVE TO
LIVE

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

On the Assassination of Comrade Robert Webb (West Coast Ministry)

Robert's life was taken from the service of the people by seven (7) cowardly inter-revolutionary revisionist lackeys, following the orders of Huey Newton and David Hilliard. This was done because he had taken a stand with the true revolutionary forces in Babylon under the leadership of Chairman Bobby Seale, Min. of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, Field Marshall, Don Cox and Communications Secretary, Kathleen Cleaver. Robert was a brother who saw and could not sit idle to expounding a lot of rhetoric without linking it up with revolutionary action.

Through education and first hand experience dealing with people in the Black community, Robert knew that the will of the people and their desire for freedom should be first and foremost in the minds of a true revolutionary, not some selfish whims - such as the ones spun by Huey, David and their Oakland circus quering as servants of the people. It has been proven for a revolutionary to survive and break the oppressive system another day, he must be able to move with the people as a fish through the water. How can you bring about

armed struggle when you don't attempt to get out where the people are - while Black and all oppressed people don't have proper housing, food and the basic necessities of life, this cowardly revisionist clique of Newton and Hilliard are living in expensive, high-rise apartments, homes paid for by brothers and sisters subjecting themselves to all sorts of foul conditions to raise money for the people's struggle, money that could have been used to feed those hungry children that you claimed to love - you paid \$30.00 a day for your meals and your bad rugs ordered from Paris. . . . You say Robert is dead - but we say he still lives, he lives in all of us who loved him. At Robert's funeral there were tears - not only tears of sorrow, the tears ran because niggers were mad - killin' mad - Robert was shot from the back, cowardly! I'm glad that you fools were afraid of Robert because there are so many more of us like him, who possess his revolutionary love for the people, and no matter how many you knock down - we will continue to march forward, getting stronger by the minute and serve the people. Robert's principal weapon was not his gun, but his relationship with the people. When he went out in the

community he went out as a friend, a brother - that's why the people loved and respected him. He always talked about how proud he felt knowing that Huey was his leader - he protected Huey with his own life everytime he stood security for the man.

Robert was a warrior, strong, and beautiful in every way possible, armed with the theory of revolution. I'd just like to say this to you Robert - your gun has been received and I shall go forward until I am stopped by a bullet in my brain - I will teach Lil' Maoi all that you have taught me. You came a long way Robert - from New Orleans Louisiana, still a child, to Hunter's Point, San Francisco, California - fighting, stealing, gang-warring, partying, to the service - lived through it - came home and joined the Party - you were sent to New Haven, working to set me, Peggy, Lonnie, Bobby, Erich, George, Landon and Rory free, to set the people free. . . .

King Man-Revolutionary Warrior - Your spirit lives on!

To the leaders and lackies of the revisionist camp - we will not be satisfied until your blood flows freely in the streets of Babylon!

West Coast Ministry of Information
DEATH TO THE SUPREME FOOLS,
NEWTON and HILLIARD!

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, MAY 8, 1971 PAGE 8



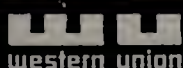
SAM NAPIER



ONE WORD IS A THOUSAND WORDS TO A THOUSAND EARS.
SAM NAPIER SPREAD THE PEOPLE'S WORD.
EVEN NOW WE HEAR IT RESOUND TEN THOUSAND TIMES.

"CIRCULATE TO EDUCATE"

Sam Napier, Black Panther Party,
Intercommunal News Service, Circulation Manager,
Murdered By Fascists, April 17, 1971 New York, New York



Telegram

1048 Peralta

Our loss is great one. Loss of one comrade diminishes our number, yet brutal crimes perpetrated against us by oppressor only serves to heighten our resolve and revolutionary fervor. Sam has given most any human being can give for his people—he has given his life. Sam did not die in vain, he died for the very thing he lived for—revolution. His murderers will not go unpunished on scales of eternity, for the just shall inherit the earth, awaking away all insane men. Long live the spirit of Sam Napier.

MASS STATE CHAPTER
Black Panther Party.

Central Headquarters Black Panther Party
1048 Peralta St.
Oakland Calif.

To the family and fellow comrades of Samuel Napier we join you in mourning for our comrade in arms, his death was heavier than Mount Tai, his spirit of absolute selflessness and dedication to the people will never die, wrath of the people will surely avenge this revolutionary servant of the people.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

East Coast Distribution and
Connecticut State Chapter
Black Panther Party

FOR SAM

Sam made a commitment to the people; he dedicated his life to the betterment of mankind. The vehicle through which he served the people was the Black Panther Party, and its organ the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service. He believed very strongly in the Party and the work he did in serving the people. He would always say, the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service was the life of the Party and the People; and with that he did his best to see that the paper circulated from community to community throughout this fascist empire and the world.



He knew that in order for the people to be able to liberate themselves from the enemy, that they would have to be educated. Sam could only see the people being educated through circulating the Black Panther Party Intercommunal News Service. Time after time I would hear Sam in the office or in the streets walking fast and shouting, "Circulate to Educate and Educate to Liberate." Many nights Sam would sit at home jotting down ideas to increase circulation. That was Sam, always serving the people. Never once thinking of himself but always devoted to the people and the struggle.

Being his wife, I am very heart broken over his death and regret the loss the people will feel, and his two sons, Slag and Huey, his comrades and myself. But being a servant of the people, I feel the significance of his death can only strengthen the Party and the masses of people. And because of this new strength, I am sure the work that he and other brothers and sisters who have been murdered by the reactionary forces have left behind will be carried out to the fullest and on a higher level. And to you, Sam, I will do as you have in the name of the revolution.

REVOLUTIONARY LOVE FOREVER!
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Pauline Napier

LETTER OF CONDOLENCE

TO: COMRADE SISTER PAULINE NAPIER, WIDOW
OF A TRUE REVOLUTIONARY AND ULTIMATE
SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE, COMRADE SAM NAPIER

We, the San Quentin Branch, Black Panther Party would like to share with you, our Comrade sister, all the aches and pains you must have, not only as a wife, but as a beautiful Black sister who stood strong... not behind; but beside her comrade, revolutionary husband, Sam Napier, who has been more than active in the Black Panther Party since 1966. And there's no doubt in our minds that had there been a Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale and Black Panther Party a hundred years ago Comrade Sam and sister Pauline would have, if possible, been front runners then in the people's struggle for freedom and liberation from capitalism, which forced her husband to die at the barbaric, inhumane, evil, filthy, merciless, cancer-carrying hands of power hungry and coward warlocks, who will stop at nothing to try and slow the wheels of the Black Panther Party, for a DOLLAR or POWER!

Comrade Sam Napier was the Circulation Manager of the Black Panther paper, and was responsible for thousands and thousands of Black Panther papers being distributed across AmeriKKKa and other parts of the world to enlighten and bring truth to the Black and oppressed masses, serving the people diligently in all his ways and actions. The brother was aware that one day his life would come to a halt, as history shows, when one brings the truth to the people. With this knowledge the comrade continued to serve the people to the fullest of one man's capacity, sometimes even like four or five; his primary interest was not in himself but his people, whom he knew needed strength and knowledge from one who was willing, if necessary to sacrifice his life for them.

Even though Comrade Sam Napier's hands were tied and bound behind his back and he was shot six times to assure his death, and the Black Panther office was burnt down, by cowardly enemies of the people who want to stop the distribution of the Party's paper, knowing that the sales of such papers help FEED, CLOTHE, EDUCATE, and give MEDICAL ASSISTANCE to tens of thousands of Black babies and adults across this jive imperialistic, dogmatic AmeriKKKan plantation, he died the death of a man, a true revolutionary soldier, on the fore-front, representing his faith in the people... and for the people. The Black Panther Party and the

people will not let the thoughts and services of Comrade Sam Napier pass through the night, as if nothing has happened.

Comrade Sister, Pauline, you can rest assured that history will repeat itself and the assassins will be dealt with accordingly, and all the people's enemies. And there will be no compromising, negotiations or any peace loving sympathy for those who uphold such genocidal plots as have occurred in the past by any of the pigs. For they chose to fight against the people, so they must be chastised by the wrath of the people. We have faith in the people, that's why we have dedicated our lives to serving the people; and we have faith in the Black Panther Party, that's why we are members of the Black Panther Party; we also have faith in you, Black revolutionary Queen, to be the strong Black mother of this universe that comrade Sam really knew you to be. He might not have told you verbally or in a way you might have understood, but he died for you and all of us oppressed people. He gave his one and only life to try and free us of the chains of oppression, that are perpetuated by imperialism and its diabolical methods. Hold strong, sister, like you have done for over 400 years. You are the very back bone, blood, life and breath of the Black man's struggle. We understand you have carried the load of our people for centuries and it gets awfully heavy at times; but it's the strong sisters, like yourself, that give us more drive and determination to stand and fight back. We are just beginning to walk, and who knows better than you, comrade Pauline. The people love you and we love you, so please do not turn loose our hands because we need you.

When we in San Quentin heard of the comrade's assassination on Saturday, April 17, 1971 sister, if we might add, we were as deeply and still are, affected as you. We fell and feel very helpless here in maximum security, not being able to be right there with you, personally, makes us feel almost useless; and not being able to do anything other than to give our moral support to you and the people. It's not enough... it's just not enough. So, sister, please join us in a little thought and hope, that all of those cowardly, back-slapping running dogs that miss

the wrath of the people and there in minimum security will be extradited in some way here to California and sent here, especially their leader. We know how to deal with the people's enemies, effectively. And by our hands being tied like they are, sister, we are looking for your moral and revolutionary support, because we know you loved your husband and love the people, and we love you for it. To turn around now would mean that Comrade Sam died in vain, and that, he didn't because we are going to keep pushing straight ahead, stronger than ever. And nothing, nor any oppressive force is going to stop the free Breakfast, free Medical clinics, the Free Shae Store and any other of the people's programs, and papers that belong to the people. We are fighting for total freedom from oppression, and that means any oppressive force whatsoever.

Let us make ourselves clear. We are not, and will not cease our struggle, nor will we rest at night until JUSTICE has been dealt to the ones involved in the brutal murder of a warrior for the people. Now, now we ain't going to let these vicious pig perpetrators attacks stop us from our main objective at all. We know the pigs and this racist Government fear this paper; but why? All we're doing is telling the truth; so if they don't like what's being said, why don't they stop killing us. Because the world is going to know the truth, if we have to write papers and pass them out by hand and on bicycles. We are going to give up, if necessary, our lives for the sake of our people, like the great and truly dedicated warrior and comrade to all anti-OPPRESSORS of the universe, comrade Sam Napier.

Sister Pauline, hold high the banner of revolution, because we in S.Q. are going to struggle for the very same thing that your warrior, comrade and husband fought for, until we get freedom one way or the other. We all send our revolutionary love to a strong and courageous comrade and sister, Pauline Napier. Excuse our not being present, but soon we will be by your side with our tools for liberation. Right On! WE LOVE YOU SISTER!

Assl. Lt of Education
San Quentin Branch
Black Panther Party

OUR DIFFERENCES ARE ONES OF STRATEGY

Normally we don't air differences between revolutionaries; especially those differences propped up and propagandized through the power structure's press. However, the power structure is taking advantage of the smaller differences between us to set us all up and destroy us. A recent incident in San Francisco provided a perfect case in point, that incident involving the arrest of Kathleen Cleaver. Therefore, to deprive the power structure of the use of this weapon against us, that is the Algiers group and the Black Panther Party, the Black Panther Party would like to describe, briefly, what the real issue is, and why it is that the idea that the Black Panther Party would go out to assassinate Kathleen is absurd.

The essence of the differences between the Black Panther Party and Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver are over strategy. We all agree that those who control the United States oppress Black people, other people of color, the masses of people in this country; and liberation from this oppression can only come when the power in the hands of those few is transferred to the hands of all of us, together. We also agree that the use of revolutionary violence will probably be required to resolve this contradiction. Therefore, the differences boil down to strategic ones.

The Cleavers believed the hour of decision had come; the time was at hand to engage the tactics of guerrilla warfare to defeat our oppressors. We believe not only that the people were not presently ready for such, but that the Black Panther Party also was not ready: that is, the Black Panther Party had failed to satisfy even the first prerequisite for such a level of struggle, a base in the Black community. When these differences became uncontrollable - building a Black army as Eldridge and Kathleen had wanted and building a base in the Black community through services and survival programs - separation became inevitable.

The Algiers group denounced our Party as revisionist. They pointed to our efforts to defend our jailed brothers through the courts, through free housing to prison and free commissary programs, through mass campaigns, as an example of our "revisionism". Kathleen specifically

said, "the phase of legal defense is over...we must now use more advanced tactics against the courts. Now, we got to break 'em all out." (National Guardian, April 17, 1971).

Our response was not to hurl back epithets, but to organize more vigorously around what we understood, which we felt would expose the incorrectness of the Cleavers' position. We believed they had lost touch with the people, had placed their own desires and ideas above those of the people. Our task was to show the importance, the necessity, of a mass involvement in our struggle, eventually demonstrating the correctness of



RUCHELL MAGEE

our theory by getting into closer touch with the people.

We have done that. We are building a real revolutionary base. We are building support. We are running for electoral offices. We have no need, no desire to eliminate Eldridge and Kathleen. They are not a threat to us, to our efforts to build a base in the Black community. We know they too understand this, for the Cleavers are now appealing (more enthusiastically and submissively than we ever did) to the very same courts they attacked us for working through, pleading the courts' permission to allow Eldridge back into America.

In view of these differences, we were surprised and astonished to find out that Brother Russell Magee rejects the support of the Black Panther Party and instead authorized Kathleen Cleaver to organize and direct a Russell Magee Defense Committee.

We thought that the principles taught by our fallen comrade, George Jackson, had been heard and internalized by Russell. From their first meeting until his assassination, Comrade George had attempted to show Russell that, rather than isolate himself, Russell should attempt to organize; both inside and outside the San Quentin walls. Comrade George knew that without the support of the people, gained through active practice, nothing could be accomplished.

As the only survivor of the August 7th uprising in San Rafael, Russell Magee faces a death sentence, or at best, life imprisonment. It is disheartening, now, when support for his case is most needed, to realize that Russell chooses to reject that support. In his rejection of the aid offered by the Black Panther Party, Russell tells us of his rejection of the concept of survival programs to meet out people's needs.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

We are reprinting this excerpt from Russell's letter:

September 13, 1972

State of California
County of Marin

Public Notification

Russell (Cinque) Magee, residing in the city of Tamal, California, San Quentin Prison, hereby authorize Kathleen Cleaver, to organize and direct Russell Defense Committee or Committees.

Further, I hereby give notice to the public that Kathleen Cleaver is the only person with full authority to raise and/or obtain defense funds in my behalf, as I might or could do if personally present.

Russell Magee

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



OUR DIFFERENCES ARE ONES OF STRATEGY

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

These are the excerpts taken from letters written to the San Francisco Chronicle and Examiner, the San Francisco Police Commission and the Chief of Police in San Francisco. Attorney Charles Garry asked each of them to retract the slanderous statements they made. The following are his words:

September 15, 1972

San Francisco Examiner
5th and Mission Streets
San Francisco, California

Mr. Ed Montgomery
c/o San Francisco Examiner
5th and Mission Streets
San Francisco, California

San Francisco Chronicle
5th and Mission Streets
San Francisco, California

RE: Demand for immediate retraction by Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party

Gentlemen:

This office represents Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party. In the San Francisco Examiner - Chronicle publication of Sunday, September 10, 1972, you published scurrilous and defamatory criminal accusations against Mr. Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party in a feature article by Mr. Ed Montgomery on the front page and thereafter continued it on page 28, Section A.

The article accuses the Black Panther Party of a very serious crime, it is libelous per se and we hereby demand an immediate retraction in the same prominent setting in the front page as the original scurrilous article appeared.

Your conduct in this disregards the commonest form of decency and the negligent and careless handling of the events leads my clients to believe that you are part and parcel of trying to create an incident. Should you decide to ignore this and not give the retraction the full and complete coverage that the initial scurrilous article had, we will have no other recourse than to prosecute this matter to the full extent of the law.

Needless to tell you that Mr. Newton and the Black Panther Party deny categorically and emphatically each and every statement contained in that article which has been carelessly and negligently and intentionally written to create the idea in the reading public that the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton would resort to the low and underhanded form of crime that you have indicated therein.

The writer of this letter believes in the right of the freedom of the press and has on many occasions fought for those rights; but your right of freedom of the press does not permit you to invade and destroy the reputation and the integrity of a group of men and women fighting and struggling for a better way of life. I hope that it will not be necessary to litigate this matter. I am enclosing a copy of the article so that you will not have any difficulty in finding it.

Very truly yours,

Charles R. Garry
Charles R. Garry

September 15, 1972

Donald Scott
Chief of Police
850 Bryant Street
San Francisco, California

San Francisco Police Commission
850 Bryant Street
San Francisco, California

RE: Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party

Gentlemen:

I call your attention particularly to that portion of the San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle, September 10, 1972, which reads as follows:

"Authorities are convinced it marked another chapter in the all out battle between the Black Panther faction led by Huey Newton in Oakland and the offshoot led by Cleaver. It has already been blamed for several killings."

On behalf of my clients, we hereby demand from you a denial that you or your men under you made any such statements. We demand an immediate public statement disowning such irresponsible charges against my clients. On the other hand if you believe that the paragraph herein referred to is along the lines that you believe than I would immediately demand on behalf of my clients evidence to support such a scurrilous accusation.

Very truly yours,

Charles R. Garry
Charles R. Garry

APPENDIX B
GOVERNMENTAL CAMPAIGN



HUEY P. NEWTON
Minister of Defense



ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
Minister of Information



DAVID HILLIARD
Chief of Staff



BOBBY SEALE
Chairman

Date	City & State	Name	Charge or Act	Bail	Disposition Status
May 2, 1967	Sacramento, Calif.	30 Panthers	Charged with conspiracy to disturb the peace of assembly (a demonstration in Capitol on right to bear arms after murder by Richmond police of Deasil Dowell, and increased repression against Black people)		
May 22, 1967	Oakland, Calif.	Bobby Seale	Arrested for carrying gun near a jail		Convicted June 8, 1968 three years probation
Oct. 28, 1967	Oakland, Calif.	Huey P. Newton	Murder, assault with intent to commit murder and kidnapping (wounded by police)		On Sept. 28, 1968, sentenced 2-15 years; now in prison
Oct., 1967 - April, 1968	Oakland San Francisco Berkeley, Calif.	Panther members	Constant harassment by police re Panther vehicles		
Jan. 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Evelyn Henderson Robert Henderson Jimmy Davis Ruth Tate Kay White	Car Theft		Held 36 hours, charges dropped
Jan. 11, 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Eeri Brooke	Attempt to kill police officer		
Jan. 15, 1968	Oakland, Calif.	David Hilliard	Passing out leaflets		
Jan. 16, 1968	San Francisco, Calif.	Eldridge & Kathleen Cleaver	Police broke down door of home without search warrant		
Feb. 1968	Indianapolis, Indiana	Bruce Council Richard McTeynolds Dan Gins	Trespassing, disorderly Same Same		Case pending (juvenile) Case disposed of (juv.) Pending (juvenile)
Feb. 1968	Indianapolis, Indiana	Robert Wright	Theft		6 months
Feb. 25, 1968	Oakland, Calif.	Bobby Seale	Conspiracy to commit murder (police broke down door of home without search warrant)		Charge dropped
Feb. 1968	San Francisco, Calif.	Deater Woode	Forgery		2 days
April 3, 1968	Oakland, Calif.	Father Nell's Church	Police broke into BPP meeting at the church, shotgun ready		
April 6, 1968	Oakland, Calif.	Party members	Harassed while putting up election campaign posters		
April 8, 1968	Oakland, Calif.	David Hilliard Charles Bursay Donnell Lankford Wendell Wede Terry Cotton Warren Wells Eldridge Cleaver	Conspiracy to commit murder 20,000 (on Aug. 18, 1969) (police ambush) Same Same Same Same (wounded) Same (wounded) Same		Convicted, serving time 2 hung juries, convicted third trial Parole revoked - in exile



Huey P. Newton,
Minister of Defense


Bobby Seale,
Chairman

Founders of the
Black Panther Party


BOBBY HUTTON &
BOBBY SEALE IN →
SACTO. MAY 2, 1967



Date	City & State	Name	Charge or Act	Bail	Disposition-Status
April 7, 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Willie Brasier Chester Northington Tony Buford	Arson Same Same	5,000 5,000 5,000	10 years 2 years probation 2 years probation
April 12, 1968	Oakland, Calif.	Glen Stafford Robert De, Terry Claridy Richard Linyard	Stopped by police while returning from Bobby Hutton's funeral-- maced, booked as robbery suspect		
May 31, 1968	Victoria, B C	Bobby White HuhW Harding	Carrying offensive weapon, con- cealed weapon, under influence LSD, possession hashish		Held 8 hours, kicked out of country
May, 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Buddy Yates	Interference with arrest		Dropped
June, 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Earl Nelson	Prowling	3,000	Dropped
June, 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Aaron Dixon	Interference with arrest		
June, 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Gary Owens	Calling cop "pig", thro mari- juana possession	1,000	6 months probation
June, 1968	San Francisco, Calif.	Deater Woods	Curfew	75	5 days
June 18, 1968	N.Y., New York	Ronald Hill	Riot, Felonius Assault	3,000	Pending and bench warrant (es- caped jail)
June 18, 1968	N.Y., New York	William Hempton	Riot, Felonius Assault	1,500	Pending and bench warrant (fug- itive)
July, 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Aaron Dixon Curtis Harris	Grand larceny Same	15,000 18,000	Fouled out gully Same
July, 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Gary Owens	Possession marijuana	1,000	6 months probation
July, 1968	San Francisco, Calif.	Deater Woods	Interference with police	125	



above- ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
AFTER APRIL 6, 1968



right- HUEY P. NEWTON OCT. 28, 1967

July, 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Panther office	Police attack on office		
July, 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Bobby White	Maced and beaten by police		
July, 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Bobby Harding Bobby White Joe Atkins	Beaten by police Same Same		
Aug 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Joe Atkins	Concealed weapon	480	6 months probation
Aug. 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Bobby White Sandy Randolph Jimmy Davis Earl Brooks	Auto theft Same Same Same	3,000	
Aug. 14, 1968	Brooklyn, N.Y.	Gue (name unknown)	Disorderly conduct	500	
Aug. 21, 1968	Brooklyn, N.Y.	Darryl Balcoe Steve McKelly Juma Corell (last names unknown)	Felonious assault, resisting ar- rest and stole property Same Same Same	10,000	
Aug. 1968	Newark, N.J.	Panther office	Office firebombed		
Aug. 1968	Detroit, Mich.		Police-Panther gunfight (no injuries)		

Oppressed people, hear me. I speak loud so that all fascist
Babylon can hear me. I practice what I preach, yet I'm not a
preacher. I will die so that you may gain your freedom, and
I'm not a god. Who am I? I AM A REVOLUTIONARY, a Black
Panther, and my purpose in life is to Seize the Time.




THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1970 PAGE 9

Date	City & State	Name	Charge or Act	Bail	Disposition - Status
Aug. 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Panther leader	Conspiracy (following Black uprising)		Jailed
Aug. 15, 1968	Maeco City	David Hilliard George Murray Landon Williams	Kidnapped by FBI		
Aug. 17, 1968	Hawaii	Kathleen Claaver	Refused entrance to Japan		
Aug. 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Earl Nelson Robert Henderson Jimmy Davis Aaron Dixon	Stopped in car by police, harassed		
Aug. 1, 1968	N.Y., New York	Darryl Baines John Martinez George Corree	Felony Assault Same Same	50,000 50,000 11,500	Disposed of case now released Same Same
Sept. 4, 1968	N.Y., New York	12 Panthers	Off duty police attack in Brooklyn courthouse (lacerations, one fractured skull)		
Sept. 9, 1968	New York & Baltimore	James Morris Jimmy Williams Shanora Williams Kim Hollingsworth	Out of state flight, conspiracy to 2,000 (New York) commit arson Same Same Same	25,000 & 50,000 (Baltimore)	
Sept. 20, 1968	Omaha, Neb.	Panther members	Stolen car warrant		
Sept. 22, 1968	Milwaukee, Wis.	Earl Leverette Jesse White Booker Collins	attempted murder attempted murder attempted murder	10,000 10,000 10,000	pending pending pending
Sept. 28, 1968	Oakland, Calif.	Panther office	Police shootout of headquarters (night of Huey Newton's sentencing)		Police were on duty and admittedly drunk
Sept. 30, 1968	Brooklyn, N.Y.	Judson Ford	Violent assault, obstruction of gov. adm. and resisting arrest	2,000	
Sept. 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Lewie Jackson	Shot at by police in car passing his home		
Sept. 1968	N.Y., New York	Judson Ford	Obstructing gov. adm.	500	Out on bail, pending
Sept. 1968	N.Y., New York	Judson Ford	Harassment, resisting arrest	2,500	Out on bail, pending
Sept. 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Buddy Yates	Threatening officer	1,000	
Sept. 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Robert Henderson	Concealed weapon	3,000	Case pending
Oct. 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Bobby White Tony Buford	Hitchhiking, then poss. marijuana Same		\$75 fine, 6 mos. probation Released
Oct. 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Mike Nelson	Assaulting officer		
Oct. 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Cornell Gardner Victor Stovall	Armed robbery Same		8 months youth detention Dropped charges
Oct. 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Aaron Dixon Buddy Yates	Theft Same	1,000 1,000	Charges dropped Charges dropped
Oct. 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Lewie Jackson	Suspicion of robbery, then another robbery charge		Pending, in jail
Oct. 17, 1968	Brooklyn, N.Y.	Victor Perrea	Charged with machine gunning police station in New Jersey	50,000	
Oct. 1968	Denver, Colo.	Panther office	Office shot up in police attack on Black community and Panthers		
Oct. 1968	Denver, Colo.	Laeren Watson	Consp. to commit arson (re same incident above)		
Oct. 1968	N.Y., New York	Panther headquarters	Police harassment over use of bull horn		



PIGS
VAMP ON
SACRAMENTO
OFFICE

Date	City & State	Name	Charge or Act	Bail	Disposition - Status
 <p>HOUSE WHERE LI'L BOBBY HUTTON WAS KILLED</p>					
Oct. 1968	N Y., New York	Willbur Wynn	Robbery	\$0,000	Serving 5 years
Oct. 1968	N Y., New York	Kim Nollingsworth	Arson (Baltimore - fought extradition)		Lost extradition
		Jesse Morris	Same	\$,000	Same
		Leslie Williams	Same	1,000	Same
		Jimmy Williams	Same	2,500	Same
			(All tried in Baltimore, bail set for all four at \$25,000 each. Leslie Williams and Morris found not guilty; Nollingsworth and Jimmy Williams found guilty, sentenced to 5 years each, then released if promise not to appeal)		
Oct. 21, 1968	N Y., New York	Lumumba Shakur	Burglary and burg. tools		Released without bail, pending
		Nathaniel Burns	Same		Same
		Michael Tabor	Same		Same
Oct. 1968	San Francisco, Calif.	James Durlord	Resisting arrest, obstructing traffic		30 days
Nov. 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Buddy Yalse	Armed robbery	\$,000	20 years
			Past charge	12,500	
Nov. 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Curtis Herrie	Threatening to murder	500	Charge dropped
		Billy Jackson	Same	500	Two months probation
Nov. 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Willy Brasser	Robbery, concealed weapon		Charges dropped
		Curtis Herrie	Same		Same
Nov. 1968	San Francisco, Calif.	Dexter Woude	Profanity	250	Pending
Nov. 1968	San Francisco, Calif.	Virgo Bowman	Assault with deadly weapon		
Nov. 1968	Seattle, Wash.	Kathy Nefal Halliv	Assaulted by police in courthouse, not arrested		
Nov. 4, 1968	N Y., New York	William Nempson	Attempted robbery (Conn.)	10,000	Plea, probation
Nov. 4, 1968	N Y., New York	Nathaniel Burns	Attempted robbery (Conn.)	10,000	Pending
Nov. 5, 1968	N Y., New York	Ronald Hill	Poss. weapon (Conn.)	10,000	Plea, probation
Nov. 5, 1968	N Y., New York	Lumumba Shakur	Poss. weapon (Conn.)	10,000	Pending
Nov. 1968	N Y., New York	Jorge Apente	Poss. marijuana	500	Pending
Nov. 1968	N Y., New York	Tom Henderson	Interf. with police		Case dismissed
Nov. 1968	N Y., New York	Mertis Newwood	Disorderly conduct		Case dismissed
Nov. 12, 1968	Brooklyn, N Y	Trule Simpson	Poss. explosive	25,000	
Dec. 5, 1968	Jersey City, N J	Isiah Rowley	Alter. Ident. Nos. NJ2A-151-15, poss. firearms NJ2A 151-8, assault with weapon NJ2A 90-3, Pnae, explosives NJ2A 151-20, 151-60	30,000	In Jail
		Charles Nicke	Same	25,000	Court date 10/27/68
		Victor Perce	Same	30,000	
Dec. 7, 1968	Newark, N J.	Panther office	Police bomb office		
Dec. 7, 1968	Denver, Colo.	Panther office	Office raided		
Dec. 12, 1968	Chicago, Illinois	12 Panthers (names not listed)	Misdemeanors and weapons charges	from 7,000 to 14,000 each	
Dec. 18, 1968	Indianapolis, Indiana	Don Gine	Intimidating officer	10,000 (reduced to 2,000)	1 year probation
		Mike Cannon	Same	25,000 (reduced to 2,000)	1 year probation
Dec. 18, 1968	Indianapolis, Indiana	Lawrence Roberts	Disorderly conduct	2,500	\$50 fine and 6 mos probation
Dec. 18, 1968	Indianapolis, Indiana	Panther office	Office raided, ransacked and tear gassed		


Date	City & State	Name	Charge or Act	Bail	Disposition - Status
Dec. 18, 1968	Indianapolis, Indiana	Three Panther (already in jail)	Charged conspiracy to steal arms, and assassinate police chief (re incident above)		
Dec. 18, 1968	Indianapolis, Indiana	Lawrence C Roberts	Disorderly conduct, interfering with arrest (re incident above)	\$250	
		Cannon	Poss. deadly weapon (re same inci- dent)	20,000	
		Gins	Poss. deadly weapon (re same inci- dent)	8,000	
Dec. 21, 1968	Denver, Colo.	Panther office	Office raided by police (\$8,000 damage and \$150 stolen)		
Dec. 21, 1968	Denver, Colo.	Four Panther	Arrested (re incident above)		
Dec. 27, 1968	Des Moines, Iowa	Panther office	Police attack on office		
Dec. 29, 1968	Indianapolis, Indiana	Abram Sherriff	Unlawful use sound device, and shotgun firearms act	2,500 2,300	Case pending



MURDERED IN THE STREETS

Jan. 1969	Seattle, Wash.	James Grupe	Pose, smoke and attempted murder		Charge pending
Jan. 1969	Seattle, Wash.	Bobby Herdine	Pimping and pandering		Released
Jan. 1969	Jersey City, N. J.	Floyd Tyler	Kidnapped by police, taken to deserted area and beaten		
Jan. 1969	San Francisco, Calif.	Deeter Woode	Bench warrant	45	5 days
Jan. 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Nathaniel Junior Bob Rush William O'Neel	Unlawful use of weapon Unlawful use of weapon and pose Unlawful use of weapon	1,000 1,000 1,000	
Jan. 1969	San Francisco, Calif.	George Murray	Charged breaking parole, pose, firearms and driving motor vehicle		
Jan. 1969	New York	Lumumba Shaker Timothy Frazier	Pose of weapon Same	5,000 5,000	Plea - released Plea - serving time
Jan. 1, 1968	New York	Ann Stewart	Attempted robbery, attempted murder	7,500	Out on bail, case pending
Jan. 4, 1968	Los Angeles, Calif.	John Clark	Burglary	6,000	Pending
Jan. 10, 1968	Los Angeles, Calif.	Paul Mossett	Explosives	10,000	
Jan. 11, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Billy "Che" Brooke	Aggravated battery		1 year probation
Jan. 17, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Erica Huggins	Pose deadly weapon with intent to commit assault with	8,250	Dropped
		Elmer "G" Pratt	Same	8,250	Dropped
		Elsine Brown	Same	8,250	Dropped
		Juan Kelly	Same	8,250	Dropped
		Janice Culbertson	Same	8,250	Dropped
		Nathaniel Clark	Same	8,250	Pending
		Ronald Freeman	Same	8,250	Dropped
		Melvin Carl Smith	Same	8,250	Dropped





PIG BRUTALITY

Date	City & State	Name	Charge or Act	Bail	Disposition - Status
Jan. 17, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Wendell Woode	Murder, robbery		Dropped
Jan. 17, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Roger Louie	146 P.C. Interfering with arrest	\$25	Acquitted
Jan. 17, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Vivonne Moore	Poss. deadly weapon	1,000	Dropped
Jan. 17, 1969	New York	Joao Bird	Attempted murder, conspiracy	20,000	Case dismissed (now part of N.Y. "21" case)
		Lumumba Shekur	(seized and beaten)	20,000	Same
		Clerke Squire	Same	20,000	Same
Jan. 20, 1969	New York	Joudun Ford	Poss. weapon on plane (Federal charge)	50,000 (reduced to 10,000)	Out on bail, case pending
		Tyrone Smith	Same	50,000 (reduced to 10,000)	Same
Jan. 21, 1969	Boston, Mass.	Uelano Ferrer	Purse snatching and marijuana		
		Michael Atkins	Same		
Jan. 22, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Lerry Nevele	242, 645 P.C.	8,250	Pending
Jan. 25, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Fred Hampton	Charged with failure to appear in court	7,000	
Feb. 1969	Seattle, Wash.	Earl Brooks	Auto theft and failure to show up in court		Held 64 hours, released



PIGS ATTACK SAN FRANCISCO OFFICE

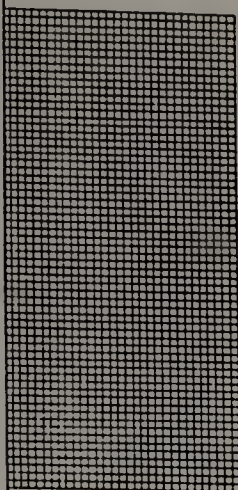
Feb. 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Sam Laison	Arrested putting up posters		\$25
		Henk Gaddie	Same		\$25
Feb. 1969	Chicago, Ill.	R. Cheke Wells	Aggravated assault	5,000	
Feb. 1969	San Francisco, Calif.	Dexter Woods	Attempted Hijack		3 days
Feb. 1969	San Francisco, Calif.	John Brown	Trespassing		Pending
Feb. 1969	Harrisburg, Pa.	Two Paothere	Arrested by FBI for circulation of "Crime to Streets" bill		
Feb. 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Michael Pennywell		3,000	
Feb. 1969	Hewlett, N.Y.	Douglas Drickhouse	Robbery		
Feb. 1969	N.Y., New York	Truddy Simpson	Poss. dynamite	10,000	On bail, case pending
Feb. 1969	N.Y., New York	Richard Herrie	Robbery, attempted	35,000	In jail, case pending
		Donald Weems	Same	25,000	Same
					(Both indicted in N.Y. "21" case)

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1970 PAGE 6

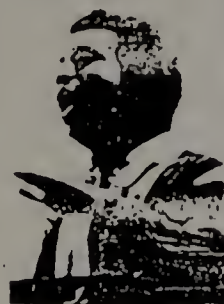
Date	City & State	Name	Charge or Act	Bail	Disposition—Status
Feb. 1969	N.Y., New York	Joan Bird	Attempted robbery, conspiracy	5,000	Out on bail, case pending
		Lumumba Shakur	Same	7,500	(now part of '21' case)
		Clerk Squire	Same	7,500	Same
Feb. 1969	N.Y., New York	John Thomas	Poss. unregistered weapon		Out still pending
Feb. 2, 1969	N.Y., New York	Joudun Ford	Poss. weapon	1,000	Out on bail, case pending
		Tyrone Smith	Same	1,000	Same
Feb. 5, 1969	Baltimore, Md.	James Foxworth	Trespassing, poss. weapon	1,100	Pending
Feb. 5, 1969	Baltimore, Md.	Charles Butler	Trespassing, interf. with arrest	1,200	Pending
		Elijah Cunningham Boyd	Same	1,200	Pending
		Charles Williams	Same	1,200	Pending
		Gregory Ferguson	Same	1,200	Pending
		Allen Sallabury	Same	1,200	Pending
		Robert Ford	Same	1,200	Pending
Feb. 8, 1969	Baltimore, Md.	Arnold Chaney	Burglary	2,800	Sentenced to 5 years, now in prison
Feb. 1969	Chicago, Ill. (Champaign-Urbana, Ill., Univ., Ill.)	Ted Boston	UJW	2,000	
		Dob Huah	Same	2,000	
Feb. 14, 1969	Same	Dilly "Chet" Brooks	Disorderly conduct	500 (listed also as 1,500)	
		William Dunn	Same	500 (listed also as 1,500)	
Feb. 9, 1969	Same	Phyllis Clarke	Charge defrauding inkeeper		Inno 22 and 412 costs
		Christina May	Same		425 and 417 costs
		Nathaniel Junior	Same		Same
		Robert Bruce	Same		Same
		Ronald Satchel	Same		Same
		William Dunn	Same		Same
		Jerry Eldridge	Same		Same
		Fred Hampton	Same		Same
		Donna Washington	Same		Same
		Ted Boston	Same		Same
		Bobby Huah	Same		Same
Feb. 12, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Roger Loula	Poss. concealed weapon	3,125	Acquitted
Feb. 17, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Ronald Satchel	Arrested selling newspapers	25	
Feb. 26, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Raymond Williams	12020 P.C. concealed weapon	1,250	Acquitted
Feb. 27, 1969	Jersey City, New Jersey	Russell Black	Receiving stolen goods, poss. dan- gerous weapon, poss. marijuana	1,000	Pending
Feb. 28, 1969	Baltimore, Md.	Dental Corner	Desertion from Army (appre- hended at trial of 4 N.Y. Panthers)		Courtmartialed May 14, 1969, served 4 months hard labor



CHICAGO B.P.P. OFFICE RESULTS OF NIXON'S HITLERITE PIG MISSION



BLACK PANTHER PARTY



CHICAGO KKK-PIGS HAVE FULL FREEDOM TO BURN ALL, DESTROY ALL, KILL ALL

Date	City & State	Name	Charge or Act	Bail	Disposition—Status
March, 1969	Eugene, Ore.	Howard Anderson	Three charges: 1) Threat to commit felony 2) 2 counts threatening police officer 3) 2 counts assault and battery	10,000 5,000 1,000	Dropped Pending - 2 mistrials Dropped
March, 1969	Eugene, Ore.	Tommy Anderson	Assault with deadly weapon	5,000	Pending (as of Sept. 16)
March, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Alvino Shinn Iris Shinn C. May Michael Harrison Jerry Hunnigan	Arrested in a car, charged U.U.W. Same Same Same Same	 1,500 500 500 500 (also listed as 1,500) 1,500	
March, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Sam Lalson Hank Gaddis	Posting handbills Same	50 50	
March, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Ronald Setchal Bobby Tyler Sam Lalson Robert Campbell	Arrested in car, U.U.W. Same - U.U.W. (2 counts) U.U.W. and unsafe vehicle U.U.W.	500 500 500 500	
March, 1969	San Francisco, Calif.	Van Taylor	Concealed weapon		Charge dropped
March, 1969	Kansas City, Mo.	Peta O'Neal and four other Panthers	Arrested (charge?)	500 each (total 2,500)	
March, 1969	N.Y., New York	Carlton Yearwood Barbara Bolton	Assault Same	500 100	Out on bail, case pending Same
March 3, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Bob Hush Nathaniel Junior William O'Neal Sandra Hich	Poss. narcotics (stopped while inflating flat tire) Same Same Same	1,000 1,000 1,000 1,000	
March 7, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Hugar Louis	148 PC, interfering	625	Dropped
March 10, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Tommy Horne	Poss. D.W.	6,250	Pending
March 12, 1969	Baltimore, Md.	(alias Banall)	Suspicion larceny, resisting arrest and interf. with arrest	2,000	Went to trial, fined \$69.50
March 21, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Bob Hush	No firearms ID card	3,000 (suspect bond)	
March 22, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Fred Hampton	Aggravated battery	1,000	
March 24, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Larry Seales	12031A PC	1,000	Not pending
March 26, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	William Dunn	Traffic violation		
March 27, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Mickey White	Attempted murder, U.U.W. and aggravated battery	15,000	
March 31, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Lester Brown Richard Miller	Violating andabetting (re Mickey White attempted murder case) Same	1,000 1,000	
March 12, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Gearty Ester	Charged with testifying	75	

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY FEBRUARY 21, 1970 PAGE 10

Date	City & State	Name	Charge or Act	Bail	Disposition - Status
April, 1969	Seattle, Wash.	Lynette Yates	Poss. sawed off shotgun, (was beaten)		Released because of pregnancy
April, 1969	Jersey City, N.J.	David Williams Fred Hlaman			
April, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	James White David Valentine William O'Neal Richard Powell Nathaniel Junior Merill Harvey	Conspiracy to commit murder, armed robbery and UMW Same Same Same Same Same	10,000 5,000 10,000 10,000 Same	Previous bond revoked, wanted and at large Previous bond, revoked, wanted and at large
April, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Jackie Robleson Randa Rollins Lance Bell	Disorderly conduct and resisting arrest (harassed and beaten) Same Same	1,000 1,000 1,000	
April, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Michael McCarty	Stopped in car, charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest	50	
April, 1969	San Francisco, Calif.	James Burford	Littering		Pending
April, 1969	San Francisco, Calif.	Henry Williams	Disturbing peace and malicious behavior		
April, 1969	San Francisco, Calif.	Dexter Woods	Not reporting for draft (FBI)	100	Pending
April, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Panther office	Office attacked (re arrest 2 Panthers on consp. to commit murder charge)		
April 1, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Bob Rush Alvin Shinn James Vest	UUM Same Same	10,000 10,000 10,000	



NEW YORK FASCIST LAUNCH MASS ROUND UPS AND INCAMPMENT

April 2, 1969	Harlem, N.Y.	Lumumba Shakur	N.Y. 21 case, charge with conspiracy to blow up department stores, a police precinct, railroad rights of way, and the Bronx Botanical Gardens	100,000	Trial set for 12.15.69
		Richard Moore	Same	100,000	
		Michael Tabor	Same	100,000	
		Curtis Powell	Same	100,000	
		Robert Collier	Same	100,000	
		Alvin Shakur	Same	100,000	Out on bail
		Walter Johnson	Same	100,000	
		All Bey Hassan	Same	100,000	
		Alvin McKiever	Same	100,000	
		Eddie Josephs	Same	50,000(reduced from 100,000)	Out on bail
		Lonnine Epps	Same	10,000(reduced from 100,000)	Out on bail
		Clara Quire	Same	50,000(reduced from 100,000)	
		Lee Perry	Same	100,000	
		Joan Bird	Same	100,000	
		Richard Harris	Same		Held in N.J. on robbery charge
		Donald Wams	Same		Held in N.J. on robbery charge
		Lee Hoper	Same		
		Other of "21"			Still at large
April 2, 1969	Harlem, N.Y.	Rosemary Byrd	Arrested night of "21"	500	Out, case pending
		Dolores Paterson	Charge, poss. weapon	1,500	Out, case pending
		Sharon Williams	Poss. weapon, poss. drugs	10,000(reduced to 3,500)	Out, case pending
		Rosland Bennett	Poss. weapon, poss. drugs	5,000(reduced to 2,500)	Out, case pending
		Kenzle Soanes	Poss. weapon	5,000(reduced to 0)	Being deported

THE BLACK PANTHER SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1970 PAGE 11

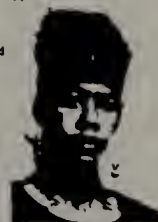
Date	City & State	Name	Charge or Act	Bail	Disposition - Status
April 2, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Jewel Cook	Poss. of drugs, illegally parked car	1,000	\$25 ticket
April 2, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	James Johnson	Disturbing peace	125	
April 4, 1969	Peekskill, N.Y.	Lawrence Newkirk	Conspiracy to overthrow govern- ment		
April 11, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	James Brown	Robbery	3,125	
April 11, 1969	Seattle, Wash.		Harassment by police of Panther fund-raising event		
April 12, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Marcus Jones	Theft (of garbage can)	1,000	
April 12, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Nathaniel Junior	Conspiracy to purchase machine guns	100,000	Released on OR
		Merrill D. Harvey	Same	100,000	Same
		Mickey White	Same	100,000	No OR because of previous mur- der charge
April 12, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Roger Louis	246 P.C.	12,500 (rebat from 750)	Pending
April 12, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Elmer Pratt	Possession destructive device	12,500 (rebat from 1,000)	Pending
April 14, 1969	Peekskill, N.Y.	Jerry Saunders	Robbery (with three other persons)		Serving time
April 17, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Freddie Robinson	Burglary	9,000	
April 18, 1969	Jersey City, N.J.	Panther office	Office attacked		
April 20, 1969	Baltimore, Md.	Mohamady Kiseima Kebe	Assault, disorderly	100	Found guilty, \$100 fine, lost appeal
April 22, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Joseph Gray	Armed robbery and aggravated battery	5,000	
April 23, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Al Armour	Suspicion murder, 182 P.C.		
April 23, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Byron Bartlett Charles James James Roy Lee John Washington	Suspicion murder, 182 P.C. Same Same Same	5,000	Pending
April 26, 1969	Des Moines, Iowa	Panther office	Totally destroyed in bombing		
April 26, 1969	San Francisco, Calif.	Panther office Dexter Woods Lucky Jenkins Van Taylor Barbara Bailey Dellinda Booker Sam Napier Cleveland Hrooke Liddle Griffin Earlene Coleman Hollys Cooper Lynn Daniels Wilbert Von Maurice Powell Dell Martin	Police attack on office re sound equipment use Re above: illegal use sound equip- ment Inciting to riot, unlawful assem- bly, failure to disperse, swearing in public Same incident arrested in office Arrested re above Same Same Same Same Same Same Same Same Same Same	125	Held 2 hours Pending Held 2 hours
April 29, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Charles James	Disturbing peace	125	
April 30, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Al Armour	12025 P.C.	1,000	



DES MONINES, IOWA OFFICE TOTALLY DESTROYED

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1976 PAGE 12

Date	City & State	Name	Charge or Act	Bail	Disposition - Status
May, 1969	Eugene, Ore.	Julius Hurst	Failure to register for draft	16,000	Pending
May, 1969	Eugene, Ore.	Bill Green	4 counts failure to report for pre-induction physical, 1 count failure to report for induction	16,000	Acquitted
May, 1969	Eugene, Ore.	Artie Cos	Threat to commit felony	5,000	Acquitted
May, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Gerry Tyler	Police rammed back of car, then ticket for no left lights		
May, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Jackey Robinson Rendle Rollins Lence Bell	Disorderly conduct Same Same	1,000 1,000 1,000	
May, 1969	New York	Ricardo DeLee Jerome West	Assault Same	500 500	Out on bail, case pending Same
May 1, 1969	Jersey City, N.J.	Leo Wilkerson Ralph Cobb Marlon Fields Jimmy York	Refusal to give account, N.J.S. 2:176-1 Same Same Same	300 360 366 300	Pending
May 1, 1969	Brooklyn, N.Y.	Ricardo DeLeon Jerome West	Assault, disorderly conduct Same	250 256	
May 1, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Richard Jones Ronald Freeman	236, 211, 245 P.C. Same	5,000 5,006	Pending Pending
May 1, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Robert Maxwell Alvin Maxwell Ceri Beverly Andrew Jones Ray Evans Michael Wille Carolee Rodriguez Devorle Benson Herbert Pryor	Arrested in connection with raid on office Same Same Same Same Same Same Same Same Same		Held 1 day Same Same Same Same Same Same Same Same Same
May 2, 1969	Brooklyn, N.Y.	Soney Evans Steve McKelly	Felonious assault Same	500 500	
May 5, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Nethaniel Clark Elmer "G" Prett Roger Louie John Washington Julio Butler	236, 211, 245 P.C. Same Same Same Same	5,000 10,000 10,000 5,000 5,000	Pending Pending Pending Pending Pending
May 6, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Charles James Lusky Irving Dwight Hutchinson James Johnson John Edwards	245 - Robbery Same Same Same Same	1,256 1,256 1,250 1,250 1,256	Dropped Dropped Dropped Dropped Dropped
May 8, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Nethaniel Clark	12625 P.C. - armed off shotgun	1,256	Pending
May 8, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	John Washington	249 - Robbery	1,000	
May 12, 1969	Jersey City, N.J.	Ralph Cobb	Arrested (charge?)		
May 12, 1969	Jersey City, N.J.	David Willems	In precinct, threatened by officer		
May 13, 1969	Jersey City, N.J.	David Willems Merlon Fields	Harassed by police for giving out leaflets Same		
May 19, 1969	Peekskill, N.Y.	Vernon C. Seundere	Made citizens arrest charged with assault (trial Sept. 25, 1969)		Plea guilty, fine \$50
May 16, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Russell Washington	Interference	125	Dropped
May 21, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Raymond Hewitt Joe Hill	Consp. incite riot, 182 P.C. Same	1,256	
May 22, 1969	New Haven, Conn.	Ericka Huggins George Edwards Rose Smith Sylvia Kimbro Joennie Wilson Neude Francis Francis Carter Peggy Higgins	Consp. to commit murder and/or murder Same Same Same Same Same Same Same Same		



ERIKA



GEORGE



JEANNIE



MAUDE



FRANCIS


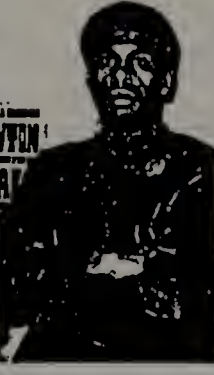


ROSE




PEGGY

THE BLACK PANTHER SATURDAY FEBRUARY 21, 1970 PAGE 13

Date	City & State	Name	Charge or Act	Bail	Disposition - Status
May 22, 1968	New Haven, Conn.	Panther office	Re arrests above, raid on office, confiscated equipment		
May 23, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Lynna French	Charged with going thru red light		Fined \$25
May 24, 1968	Los Angeles, Calif.	Leroy Chipley	ADW	1,000	
May 25, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Devodie Benson	148 - Interfering	625	Pending
May 25, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Nathaniel Clark	415 - Disturbing peace	825	
May 26, 1969	Chicago, Ill.	Fred Hampton	Charged stealing ice cream		2 - 3 years released on appeal bond
May 27, 1969	Sausalito, Calif.	George A. Geline	Charged disturbing peace and misdemeanor battery		On Dec 16, 1968 convicted on first charge sentencing Jan 9 1970 found not guilty 2nd charge
May 29, 1968	Los Angeles, Calif.	Melvin Carl Smith	Poss. deadly weapon, 12026 P C	3,500	Pending
June, 1969	Seattle, Wash.	Larry Tison	Curfew violation		Released to parents
June, 1969	Milwaukee, Wisconsin	Panther member	Disorderly conduct Harassed by police while selling papers		\$25 fine
June, 1969	Milwaukee, Wisconsin	Jesse White	Disorderly conduct/pollce tried to take leaflets stopped in car and searched		\$25 fine
June, 1969	Indianapolis, Indiana	Fred Crawford	Indianapolis 16 and arrest of Crawford (police raid followed two Panthers to their apartment)		
 					
		FRED HAMPTON			JAMES YORK
June (?)	Indianapolis, Indiana	Panther office	Due to continual harassment owner of building sold out and Party was without headquarters		
June, 1969	San Francisco, California	Jemee Burford	Violation probation		96 days
June 1, 1969	Chicago, Illinois	Richard Black	Arrested driving vehicle failure to use signals	1,000	Bond forfeited, new bail set
June 2, 1969	Chicago, Illinois	Larry Moody	Robbery	3,000	
June 2, 1969	Jersey City, N.J.	Jemes York	Interstate transp. of firearms, viol. 5822	50,000	Incarcerated
June, 1969	New York, New York	Ronald Evans Steve McKelly	Felonious assault Same	1,000 1,000	Out on bail, case pending Same
June 3, 1969	Chicago, Illinois	Willie Calvin	Interfering with officer	25	
June 4, 1969	Detroit, Michigan	Offics	Police raided office, claim Panthers harboring fugitive, \$25,000 damage		
		Patrick Keen	Arrested in raid, charge harboring fugitive, poss. firearms	4,000	Dropped June 20, 1968
		Bruce Dison	Same		Dropped June 20 1968
		Lerry Robertson	Same		Same
		Jessie Ward	Same		Same
		Andres Gravez	Same		Same
		George Washington	Same	3,000	Same
		Harvey Holt	Same		Same
		Lockett Bibbe	Same		Same
June 5, 1969	Jersey City, N.J.	Floyd Tyler	Assault of police officer, disorderly person	500	Pending
June 5, 1969	Indianapolis, Indiana	Fred Crawford Fred Crawford	Assault and battery Called to S.F. for fed. grand jury appearance, (Smith Act)	25	To be tried 9/25, 69
June 5, 1969	Los Angeles, California	Daniel Mika Lynam	182 - murder		Dropped

THE BLACK PANTHER SATURDAY FEBRUARY 21, 1970 PAGE 14

Date	City & State	Name	Charge or Act	Bail	Disposition - Status
June 3, 1969	Denver, Colorado	Rory Hithe	Charged connected with consp. re N.Y. 21 and Conn. 8, also with unlawful flight to avoid prosecution	No bail	In prison awaiting trial
		Landon Williams	Same		Same
		Others	Arrested re same		
					
June 3, 1969	Los Angeles, California	Joe Hill	Susp. 245 - robbery	1,250	
June 5, 1969	Los Angeles, California	Carl Beverly	Susp. 245 - Robbery	1,250	
		Robert Haswell	Same	1,250	Dropped
June 6, 1969	Salt Lake City, Utah	Lonnie McLucas	Alleged connection with Conn. 8 100,000 case		Later revoked - no bail
June 7, 1969	Indianapolis, Indiana	Nike Prother	Arrested in Panther headquarters, charge disorderly conduct	25	To be tried 9-18-68
		Joe Murray	Same	25	Same
		Abram Sharril	Same	2,500	Same
		Nadeline Smith	Same		Out on OIL, to be tried 9-18-68
		Donald Campbell	Same	25	Trial 9-18-69
		Dennis Webster	Same	25	Out on OIL, set for 9-18-69
		Dennis Williams	Same	25	Dismissed of in juvenile
June 7, 1969	Indianapolis, Indiana	Lawrence Roberts	Arrested in Panther headquarters charge disorderly conduct		Tried as sent case convicted 27 days suspended, fined \$25 (sent under appeal)
		Larry Wellington	Same case	25	Set for 9-18-69
		Stanford Patton	Same		Out on OIL sat 9-18-69
		Arnold Council	Same		Set 9-18-68
		Donald Hugley	Same	25	Same
		*Donald Boyer	Same	2,500	Same
		Jesse Wilson	Same	25	Same
		Tommy Wise	Same	25	Same
		Tommy Samson	Same	25	Same
		*Donald Boyer	Arrested narcotics charge and stopped twice for traffic violations since June arrest		
June 7, 1969	Chicago, Illinois	Andre Graves	Charged harboring fugitive (in illrat police raid on office)		Released on OIL, charges dropped
		Lockett Bibbs	Same		Same
		Jessie Ward	Same		Same
		Georgia Washington	Same		Same
		Harvey Holt	Same		Same
		Patrick Keen	Same		Same
		Druce Dixon	Same		Same
		Larry Holmerson	Same		Same
June 8, 1969	Chicago, Illinois	Sandra Hiteh	Stopped in car, charged poss. hypo needles, narcotics and explosives (kicked and suffered bleeding kidney - 2 months pregnant)	1,000	Charges not dropped
		Terry Watson	Same charges	1,000	Charges dropped
		Sam Laton	Same	1,000	Dropped
		Andre Graves	Same	500	Dropped
		Jesse Ward	Same	1,000	Dropped
		Walter Johnson	Same	1,000	Dropped
		Carrell Jones	Same	1,000	Dropped
		Isndle Hollins	Same	1,000	Dropped
		Tondelays Perkins	Same incident		Released to parents
		Drelda Harris	Same incident		Released to parents
		Honna Washington	Same incident		Released to parents
June 8, 1969	Los Angeles, California	Wesley Pharr	Susp. murder - 182		Dropped



N. Y. PIGS TAKING PANTHER 21 TO PIG PEN



N. Y. 21 BUST

TWO OF N. Y. 21 -- LEE ROPER (LEFT)
ALI-BAY HASSAN (RIGHT)

A PIG IS
"A LOW NATURED BEAST THAT
HAS NO REGARD FOR LAW,
JUSTICE OR THE RIGHTS OF
PEOPLE. A CREATURE THAT
BITES THE HAND THAT FEEDS
IT. A FOUL DEPRAVED
TRADUCER USUALLY FOUND
MARTYRED AS THE VICTIM
OF AN UNPROVOKED ATTACK"



8 PANTHERS DEFENDED THEMSELVES AND
THE COMMUNITY FROM 400 FASCIST STORM
TROOPERS FOR 5 HOURS, FROM THIS OFFICE.

LIL' BOBBY HUTTON.-- AMBUSHED AND
SLAUGHTERED BY OAKLAND PIGS



INSANE, FOUL PIGS BROKE DOWN DOOR TO THE HOME OF ELDRIDGE AND KATHLEEN CLEAVER ONCE.



MINISTER OF INFORMATION, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER STANDS IN FRONT OF OAKLAND OFFICE AFTER DRUNKEN PIGS SHOT IT UP



PIGS BLOCKING OFF ENTRANCE TO BLACK PANTHER PARTY, S.F. OFFICE.



ATTENTION

DU TO PIG REPRESSION WE WERE NOT ABLE TO PRINT ALL OF THE HARASSMENTS WE HAVE BEEN SUBJECTED TO. UNITED STATES MAIL PIGS BLOCK OUR MAIL AND WE HAVE NOT RECEIVED ALL OF THE HARASSMENT LISTS FROM ALL OF THE CHAPTERS AND BRANCHES THERE ARE MANY THAT HAVE NOT BEEN RECORDED, HOWEVER THOSE THAT WE HAVE COMPILED ARE EVIDENCE ENOUGH TO PROVE THAT THE POLICE ARE FASCIST GASTAPOS. THE TOTAL AMOUNT OF MONEY WE HAVE PAID ON BAIL SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY UNTIL 1969 IS APPROXIMATELY

\$5,240,568.00

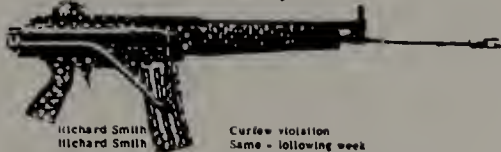





RACIST PIGS SHOOT UP HOUSES IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY DURING APRIL 6, 1968 SHOOTOUT

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1970 PAGE 19

Date	City & State	Name	Charge or Act	Bail	Disposition—Status
June 10, 1968	Chicago, Illinois	Billy Brooks	16 Panthers indicted charged UUV - consp. and kidnapping, aggravated battery	10,000	
		Yvonne King	Same	100,000	
		Christina May	Same	100,000	
		Fred Hampton	Same	100,000	
		Jerry Dunnington	Same	50,000	
		Nathanial Junior	Same	100,000	
		Merrill Harvey	Same	100,000	
		William O'Neal	Same	100,000	
		David Valodine	Same	100,000	
		James White	Same	100,000	
		Wilmer Ingram	Same	100,000	
		Richard Powell	Same	100,000	
		Robert Bruce	Same	100,000	
		William Ivory	Same	100,000	
		Narlor Walton	Same	9,000	
		Charles Mertie	Same	6,000	
June 10, 1968	Brooklyn, N.Y.	Norold Butler	Arrested for harassment	600	
June 11, 1968	Los Angeles, California	Robert Cadell	\$44 - robbery	1,250	Dropped
June 14, 1969	Los Angeles, California	Roger Lewis	Susp. murder - 162		
June 19, 1969	San Diego, California	Panther office	Office raided		
June 18, 1969	Sacramento, California	Panther office	Office raided		
June 19, 1969	San Francisco, California	Louryn Williams	Traffic ticket	9.00	
June 17, 1969	Chicago, Illinois	William O'Neal	Poss. narcotic	1,000	
		Robert Bruce	Same	1,000	
June 19, 1968	Chicago, Illinois	David Smith	Arrested selling papers	25	
June 23, 1969	Los Angeles, California	Roger Lewis	Susp. murder - 162		
June 23, 1968	Los Angeles, California	Elmer "G" Pratt	Susp. murder - 162		
June 26, 1968	Milwaukee, Wisconsin	Jessie White	Carrying concealed weapon	350	
		Leslie Moya	Same	350	
		Raymond Cross	Same	350	
		Allan Crawford	Same	350	
June 30, 1968	Los Angeles, California	Ronald Freeman	Susp. murder - 162 GTA and drug		Dropped
July, 1968	Jersey City, N.J.	David Williams	Stopped from selling BPP papers, taken to precinct		
		Joe Wilkerson	Same		
July, 1969	Jersey City, N.J.	Robert Taylor	Picked up map of murder		Released
July, 1969	Peekskill, N.Y.	Anthony Jones	Police attempting to find Il dows		
July, 1969	New York, N.Y.	London Ford	Attempted murder - consp.	150,000 (reduced to \$5,000)	Out on bail, pending
July 3, 1969	Chicago, Illinois	Robert Adams	Stopped in vehicle, arrested for driving through Midway plaza in city, they were solicited for sale of tape in window		
July 4, 1969	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	William O'Neal	Arrested, selling papers		
		William O'Neal	Arrested in Atlantic City		
		Augusta Wells	Same		
July 5, 1969	Los Angeles, California	James Miller	Robbery - 145	1,250	Pending reduced to interfering
		Charles Williams	Same	625	Same
		Charles James	Same	625	Same
July 6, 1969	Los Angeles, California	John White	Spitting on sidewalk		
July 6, 1969	Los Angeles, California	John White	Spitting on sidewalk	315	
July 6, 1969	Chicago, Illinois	William O'Neal	Arrested, selling papers, charged disorderly conduct	25	
July 9, 1968	Los Angeles, California	William O'Neal	Arrested, selling papers		Pending
July 11, 1968	Los Angeles, California	William O'Neal	Arrested, selling papers	315	Pending
July 12, 1968	Los Angeles, California	Vernon Bowen	Stopped in car by Hudson police, threatened with arrest for no registration and faulty tires		No arrest
		Charles Miller	Same		Same
		Slater Shaker	Same		Same
		Ronald Carter	Same		Same
July 19, 1969	San Diego, California	Jimmy Johnson	Concealed weapons and grand auto theft		
		Ronald Freeman	Same		
		Gloria Shields	Same		
July 17, 1969	San Diego, California	Robert Williams	Murder		Released, lack of evidence
July 17, 1969	San Diego, California	Grace Miller	Poss. weapon		Released
July 17, 1969	Chicago, Illinois	Larry Robinson	Attempted murder (shot in leg, stomach and thigh)		No bond
		Grady Moore	Also arrested re above		

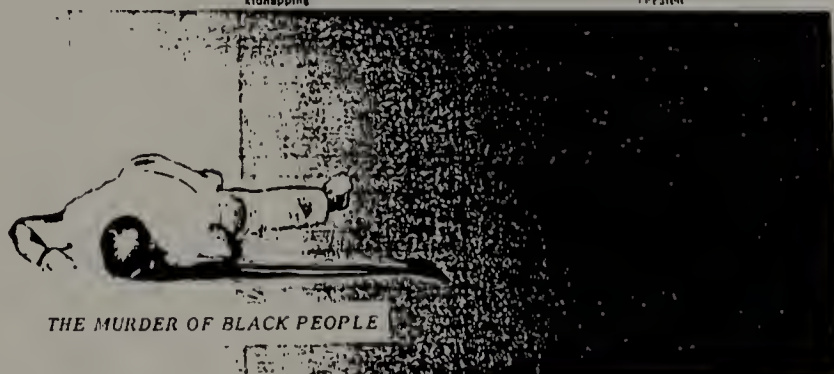
THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1970 PAGE 20

Date	City & State	Name	Charge or Act	Bail	Disposition-Status
July 17, 1968	Los Angeles, Calif.	Arthur Learner	1st P.C. murder		Incarcerated - pending, goes to trial 11/28/68 - no trial date set
July 17, 1968	Los Angeles, Calif.	Otto Grimes	Fed. charge, harboring fugitive, 28,125 failure to appear		Dropped
July 17, 1968	Jersey City, N.J.	Leo Wilkerson	Interfering with police officer	500	Set for Oct. 22, 1968
July 22, 1968	Albany, N.Y.	Vernon Bowen	FBI went to home to question about BPP		
July 23, 1968	Baltimore, Maryland	Mahommed Kiseles Kebe	Poss. deadly weapon (carrying magazine - full view)	1,000	Not guilty
July 23, 1968	Bronx, N.Y.	Thelma Davis	Arrested at Panther house, police forced way into house		Case dismissed after held 8 days
July 28, 1968	Chicago, Illinois	Billie "Che" Brooks	Violation of probation		Case continued
July 30, 1968	Chicago, Illinois	Lockett Bibbs	Traffic violation		225
July 30, 1968	Chicago, Illinois	John Brakes Tom Mays John Preston Larry Moody Hank Gaddis	Poss. of marijuana Same Same Same Same	1,000 1,000 1,000 1,000 1,000	
July 30, 1968	Jersey City, N.J.	Leo Wilkerson	Detaching public monument	500	Set for Oct. 22, 1968
July 31, 1968	Chicago, Illinois	Second office raid	45 min. shootout, police attempt to burn office down, \$500 stolen and foot destroyed		
		Pete Hayman (or Hynam)	Re above, charged attempted murder and UUV (basin and red, hospitalization)	20,000	
		Alvin Jefferson	Same	20,000	
		Larry White	Same	20,000	
July 31, 1968	Los Angeles, Calif.	Henry Christian	ADW, dropped to 415 and battery 625		Pending
July 31, 1968	Los Angeles, Calif.	Lemuel James	ADW, dropped to 415 and battery 625		Pending
July, 1969	San Francisco, California	Fallon Adams	Loitering	136	Pending
					
Aug. 1969	Milwaukee, Wisc.	Richard Smith	Curfew violation		Released to parents
		Richard Smith	Same - following week		Released to parents
		Richard Smith	Arrested crossing incorrectly at intersection		
		Richard Smith	Arrested investigating arrest of two sisters.		
		Richard Smith	Arrested selling papers, for loitering, jaywalking or just walking		
Aug. 1969	Eugene, Oregon	Artie Cox	1) Charged as con in poss. of fire- arm 2) Threat to commit felony	5,000	Pending 1st charge Not guilty 2nd charge
Aug. 1969	Chicago, Illinois	William O'Neal	Was refused sale of firearms		
Aug. 1969	Chicago, Illinois	Randle Rollins Jackie Robinson	Murder Same		
Aug. 1969	San Francisco, Calif.	Lucky Jenkins	Blocking sidewalk, disturbing peace, obscenity	135	Pending
Aug. 1968	San Francisco, Calif.	Sharia Hampton	Loitering	22.50	Pending
Aug. 1969	San Francisco, Calif.	Gail Spillard	Loitering	22.50	Pending
Aug. 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Paul Cross	Murder (dropped to manslaughter)		Been in Old County Jail since 6/12, parole hold, trial set 11/26/68
Aug. 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Romer Lewis	Murder - dropped to manslaughter		Extradited from Texas 6/12, to New County Jail and trial set 11/24/68
Aug. 1969	New York, N.Y.	Robert Moore	Selling papers without permit		Out, case pending
Aug. 1968	New York, N.Y.	Eula May Fischer	Selling papers without permit		Out, case pending
Aug. 2, 1969	Milwaukee, Wisc.	Loretta X. Brown	Stopped by police, submitted to search after having gun pointed at her;		
Aug. 2, 1969	Chicago, Illinois	Emanuel Dozier	Attempted murder, resisting arrest, failure to register firearm	10,000	
Aug. 3, 1969	Milwaukee, Wisc.	Loretta X. Brown	Stopped in car		
Aug. 4, 1969	Brooklyn, N.Y.	Ricardo DeLeon	Consp. armed robbery, poss. weapons		
		Willbert Thomas	Same		

Date	City & State	Name	Charge or Act	Bail	Disposition-Status
Aug. 4, 1969	Brooklyn, N.Y.	Al Calae	Consp. to commit armed robbery, poss. dangerous weapons, assault poss. stolen car	50,000 and 75,000	
Aug. 4, 1969	Chicago, Illinois	Willie Calvie	Charge of fictitious license plates, no city sticker and poss. stolen property	2,500	
Aug. 6, 1969	Connecticut	Dave Quick	Car theft, interstate travel to etc. 1st car, consp. to steal car	5,000	
		William Jackson	Same	7,500	
		Douglas Miranda	Same	15,000	
		John Cheatum	Same	15,000	
		Ida Watson	Same (driver of car)	100,000	Incarcerated
Aug. 7, 1968	Milwaukee, Wisc.	Larl W. Leverette	Stopped in car, held for 45 hours, then charged with forgery		
Aug. 8, 1969	Albany, N.Y.	Ronnie Carter Vernon Bowen Mussel	Harassment selling papers Same Same		
Aug. 8, 1969	Richmond, Calif.	Richmond office	Attempted raid, police withdrew after attempt announced on radio		
Aug. 10, 1969	Baltimore, Md.	Charles Jackson	Disorderly conduct	\$70	Fined \$35, suspended sentence
Aug. 10, 1969	Baltimore, Md.	Angelina Edison	Disorderly conduct		Dropped
Aug. 10, 1969	Baltimore, Md.	Larry Wallace	Disorderly conduct and poss. weapon	1,500	Suspended 6 mos., 16 months probation
Aug. 11, 1969	Oakland, Calif.	June Hilliard and "G"	Arrested poss. dangerous drugs	3,000 bond 3,000 bond	Dropped - had prescription for medicine
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; align-items: flex-end;"> <div style="text-align: center;">  <p>JUNE HILLIARD ASS'T. CHIEF OF STAFF B.P.P.</p> </div> <div style="text-align: center;">  <p>"G" DEP. MINISTER OF DEFENSE B.P.P.</p> </div> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> </div> <p style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;">right BOBBY SEALE CHAIRMAN B.P.P. POLITICAL PRISONER</p>					
Aug. 12, 1969 (trial date)	Baltimore, Md.	Sandra Sharp	Disorderly conduct	500	Dropped
Aug. 16, 1969	Chicago, Illinois	Joseph Gray	Aggravated battery	2,500	
Aug. 18, 1966	Milwaukee, Wisc.	Nate Bellem	Threatened with parking ticket; threatened with arrest for talking with people about arrest of sister for jaywalking		
Aug. 18, 1968	Milwaukee, Wisc.	Karen Bundy	Arrested for disorderly conduct about jaywalking ticket		
Aug. 19, 1969	Brooklyn, N.Y.	Leroy Fludd	Resisting arrest felonious assault	500	
Aug. 19, 1969	Oakland, Calif.	Bobby Seale	Kidnapped by FBI, charged murder, torture, kidnapping and unlawful flight (1st ed. charges)		
Aug. 20, 1969	Oakland, Calif.	Bobby Seale	Released on 25,000 cash bail, arrested as left courtroom, on state warrant - charge "fugitive from justice" and re-arrested		
Aug. 21, 1969	Oakland, Calif.	Bobby Seale	Dealt bail on new charge		
Aug. 21, 1969	Oakland, Calif.	Emory Douglas	Assaulting police officer	2,500	
Aug. 21, 1969	Oakland, Calif.	Jymbo Sudan	Contempt of court (clenched fist salute in court)		5 days and \$500


THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1970 PAGE 22

Date	City & State	Name	Charge or Act	Bail	Disposition - Status
Aug. 10 or 20, 1969	Milwaukee, Wisc.	Lovette X. Brown	Stopped in car		
Aug. 20, 1969	Chicago, Illinois	Billy "Che" Brooks	Attempted murder	1,000	
Aug. 25, 1969	Milwaukee, Wisc.	Jesse White	Police tried to take papers, and harassed in several incidents		
Aug. 1969	Milwaukee, Wisc.	Jaki Simpson	Harassed, red baited by police		
Aug. 31, 1969	New Haven, Conn.	Vernon Miller Henry Mitchell	Breach of peace, and torturing Same	25 and 500 bond Same	Pending, set 9 23 69 Same
Sept. 1969	New York	David Conyer	Attempted murder, conspiracy	50,000	Still incarcerated, case per
Sept. 1969	Bronx, N.Y.	Butch Innis	Arrested selling papers		Released
Sept. 1, 1969	San Francisco, Calif.	Kathleen Burdick Lucky Jenkins	U turn		\$19.00 \$19.00
Sept. 2, 1969	New Haven, Conn.	Clarence Johnson Henry Mitchell	Breach of peace abusing police officer, resisting arrest Same	10 and 200 bond 10 and 200 bond	Trial date 9 23 69 Same
Sept. 2, 1969	New Haven, Conn.	Elizabeth Bragg	Abusing police officer, breach of peace	10 and 200 bond	Suspended sentence, 1 year billion
Sept. 3, 1969	San Francisco, Calif.	Fred Bennett			\$5 traffic ticket
Sept. 3, 1969	San Francisco, Calif.	Lucky Jenkins			\$3 traffic ticket
Sept. 5, 1969	Baltimore, Md.	Steve McCutchen	Resisting arrest, hindering arrest	500	Pending
Sept. 5, 1969	Baltimore, Md.	Sandra Wallace	Assaulting police officer, resisting arrest	300	Found guilty, fined \$120
Sept. 5, 1969	Baltimore, Md.	John Clark	Resisting, hindering arrest (beaten when apprehended)	1,000	Pending
Sept. 5, 1969	Baltimore, Md.	Sandra Wallace	Arrested going to aid of brothers John Clark and Steve McCutchen (re previous arrest case)	500	Found guilty, fined \$120
Sept. 5, 1969	Baltimore, Md.	Sherry Drown	Resisting, hindering arrest (re above)	1,000 plus 1,300	On Sept. 12, bail raised to 2, (in jail)
Sept. 5, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Daniel Rainey	No ID		Released, charge dropped
Sept. 8, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	George Smith	Poss. illegal weapon, suspicion murder (arrested at Watts Break-fast Program)		Dropped, released 9 10
		Lamont Jones Melvin Johnson Walter Ray Pope Bruce Edwards	Same Same Same Same		Same Same Same, released 9 11 Same, released 9 8
Sept. 8, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Althea McNeal Virgil Smith	Taken for questioning, no charge given, susp. robbery and traffic warrant		Released Released 9 10 \$25 re two du on traffic warrant other char dropped
Sept. 8, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Luxey Irwin	Attempted murder, robbery and kidnapping		Reassigned 9 15 currently incarcerated
Sept. 8, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Robert Williams	Attempted murder, robbery and kidnapping		Arrested 9/17 secretly incarcerated
Sept. 8, 1969	New Haven, Conn.	Verna Hampton	Reckless abuse of highway by pedestrian (selling BPP papers)		Trial set 9/18/69



THE MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1970 PAGE 22

Date	City & State	Name	Charge or Act	Bail	Disposition - Status
Sept. 9, 1969	Brooklyn, N.Y.	David Conyer	Consp. to commit murder, comp. to commit armed robbery, attempted armed robbery	50,000	
Sept. 10, 1969 (Date of conviction)	Chicago, Illinois	Robert White	Armed robbery		Found guilty of armed robbery in Detroit, Mich.
Sept. 10, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Robert Bryan	Grand theft - gun	625	Pending
Sept. 10, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Virgil Smith	Grand theft - gun		Released on OR
Sept. 10, 1969	San Diego, Calif.	Willie Ward	Traffic ticket		11.50
Sept. 11, 1969	San Diego, Calif.	Deborah DeRowes	Armed robbery		Charge dropped, released 9/12
Sept. 11, 1969	San Diego, Calif.	Glorie Bolton	Re above (De Rowes case), held for questioning at Juvenile Hall (since then charged with being a runaway, and attempted murder)		In custody
Sept. 11, 1969	San Diego, Calif.	Plea Bolden	Armed robbery	350	Bail revoked, arrested to court for being late, bail reinstated
Sept. 11, 1969	San Diego, Calif.	Glorie Green	Same as above		Held for questioning Juvenile Hall
Sept. 11, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Bruce Edwards	No ID		Charge dropped
Sept. 11, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Al Amour	Susp. burglary, receiving stolen goods (went to court 9/16) Traffic warrant (went to court 9/15)		
Sept. 12, 1969	White Plains, N.Y.	Thomas Bennett Theodore Corbett	Harassment Same	200 200	Found guilty, \$10 fine Same
<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-right: 10px;"> PIGS ATTACK SAN DIEGO OFFICE </div>  </div>					
Sept. 13, 1969	San Diego, Calif.	Glorie Shields	Selling newspapers	35	Judge ordered release on OR, charges dropped 9/16
Sept. 14, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Evon Anderson	Ten traffic warrants	100	Nine suspended one \$10 fine
Sept. 14, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Charles Jamus	No ID, later traffic warrant	15	9/16 - ticket suspended
Sept. 14, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Walter Ray Pope	Harboring fugitive		9/14 charge dropped
Sept. 16, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Bruce Richards	Shop. robbery		Dropped 9/19
Sept. 17, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Walter Ray Pope Glenda Joseph Brenda Frank Robert Bryan Craig Williams	Susp. robbery Same Same Same Same		Charge dropped that night Same Same Dropped, released 9/19 Dropped, released 9/17
Sept. 17, 1969	San Diego, Calif.	Willie Ward	Disturbing peace and disorderly conduct	65	Judge ordered release on OR
Sept. 17, 1969	San Diego, Calif.	Sonny Barnett	Susp. robbery	5,000	Released 9/17, charges dropped
Sept. 19, 1969	Los Angeles (nr San Diego) Calif.	Henry Christain	Disturbing peace Same	125 125	Pending Released OR, charges dropped
Sept. 20, 1969	L. A. or San Diego, Calif.	Willie Ward Sonny Barnett Jeffrey Jennings Hubert Callmae Anthony Dumas Desmond Miller Voe Moran Glorie Shields Walter Wallace Tamika Warren	Susp. armed robbery Same Same Same Same Same Same Same Same Same		Released on OR, charge dropped Same Same Same Same Same Same Same Same Same
Sept. 25, 1969	L.A. or San Diego				
Sept. 20, 1969	Brooklyn, N.Y.	Runnie Carter	Assault II	1,000	

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1970 PAGE 24

Date	City & State	Name	Charge or Act	Bail	Disposition - Status
Sept. 24, 1969	Los Angeles or San Diego	Odin Moran	Warrant	25	
Sept. 25, 1969	L. A. or San Diego	Willie Ward	Supp. custody, restraining order		Dismissed
		Zeke Tate	Same		Dropped
		Jimmy Johnson	Same		Dropped
		Anthony Dumas	Same		Dropped
		Sonny Baines	Same		Dropped
		Oniel Achles	Same		Dropped
Sept. 26, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Homaine Fitzgerald	Two charges murder, two seq. rape cases		Placed up 9 26 69
Sept. 1969	San Francisco, Calif.	John Brown	Unsub warrant	41 50	
Oct. 4, 1969	San Diego or L. A., Calif.	O'Neal Achles	Unsub warrant		Dropped
Oct. 4, 1969	San Diego or L. A., Calif.	Zeke Tate	Littering		Dropped
Oct. 4, 1969	Chicago, Illinois	Third office said He above	Seven arrested		
		Billy "Che" Brooks	Attempted murder	10 000	
		Terry Watson	Same	20 000	
		Brad Green	Same	20 000	
		Morris Brown	Same	10 000	
		Larry Moody	Same	10 000	
		Wade Brown	Same	10 000	
		Jerrel Hawkins	Same	10 000	
Oct. 4, 1969	White Plains, N.Y.	Bernard Clark	Unlawful entry in front of office	500	Found guilty fine of \$25
Oct. 6, 1969	San Diego or L. A., Calif.	Nine Moran	Unsub warrant		Dropped
Oct. 8, 1969	Chicago, Illinois	Harbert White	Armed robbery		Sentenced to prison 15 years
Oct. 9, 1969	Bronx, N.Y.	Thelma Davis	Assaulted by police while selling papers		
Oct. 10, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Udoby Davis	Spitting on sidewalk		Placed on parole hold then sent to 2 mos. because (no) guardian refused to take him custody
Oct. 15, 1969	White Plains, N.Y.	Theodore Corbett	Obstructing gov. adm., trespassing and loitering		Jury trial Nov 12/3 69
		William Cook	Same		Out on bail
		Daniel Pesce	Same		Same
Oct. 16, 1969	Chicago, Illinois	Cernell Jones	Theft	50	
Oct. 16, 1969	White Plains, N.Y.	William Cook	Picked up by police, taken to headquarters, told not to sell papers, released		
Oct. 17, 1969	Jamaica, N.Y.	Lenny Spriggs	Harassment		Released on OIR case pending
Oct. 18, 1969	San Diego or L. A., Calif.	William Perillo	Disturbing peace	625	Pending
Oct. 18, 1969	San Diego or L. A., Calif.	Charles James	Poss. sawed off shotgun	1,500	Pending
Oct. 18, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Virgil Smith	In raid on Watts office, charged poss. illegal weapon	No bail	Due to parole hold
Oct. 20, 1969	San Diego or L. A., Calif.	Bruce Richards	Attempted murder	15 000	Parole hold pending
Oct. 20, 1969	San Diego or L. A., Calif.	Gwen Goodlow	Disturbing peace	125	Pending
Oct. 22, 1969	San Diego or L. A., Calif.	Jimmy Johnson	Disturbing peace	125	Pending
Oct. 22, 1969	San Diego or L. A., Calif.	Burrowese Moore	Disturbing peace	125	Pending
Oct. 23, 1969	San Diego or L. A., Calif.	Bernard Smith	No ID		Dropped
Oct. 23, 1969	San Diego or L. A., Calif.	Will Stafford	No ID		Dropped
Oct. 23, 1969	San Diego or L. A., Calif.	Paul Hest	No ID		Dropped
Oct. 23, 1969	San Diego or L. A., Calif.	Isiah Houston	No ID		Dropped
Oct. 24, 1969	San Diego or L. A., Calif.	John Washington	Disturbing peace	625	Pending
Oct. 1969	Peekskill, N.Y.	Lawrence Newkirk	Carrying deadly weapon		3 months prison under ground, released



ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE, WERE YOUR
EYES OPENED, OR WILL YOU BE TRICKED
AGAIN, AGAIN AND AGAIN?



EMORY DOUGLAS
MIN. OF CULTURE



JUDI DOUGLAS



DON COX
FIELD MARSHAL

Date	City & State	Name	Charge or Act	Bail	Disposition - Status
Nov. 1969	Paris, France	Emory Douglas Judi Douglas Don Cox	Trip to Algiers, harassed by customs officials at Air France, threatened with arrest, materials confiscated, belonging photo-graphed, Judy strip searched.		
Nov. 11, 1969	New Haven, Connecticut	Ellise	Arrested while putting up posters, which were torn down by police; crowd gathered, Ellise told people to go home, was arrested for say-ing "All Power to the People"		
Nov. 11, 1969	New Haven, Connecticut	Regina Burruss	Beaten re above incident for ask-ing why state under arrest clubbed in legs and stomach (is five months pregnant) Others also arrested and beaten		
Nov. 16, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Russell Washington	Disturbing peace and traffic war.	\$15 rants	Plus \$25 traffic tickets
Nov. 19, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	John Washington Mike Kynem	Susp rubbery		Arrested Arrested
Nov. 19, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Paul Hedd Jackie Johnson	No ID		Arrested Arrested
Nov. 19, 1969	Los Angeles, Calif.	Craig Williams	Traffic warrants		\$150.50 (needed 3 held)
Nov. 20, 1969	Albany, New York	Panther Office	Office shot at, bricks thrown through window (office just opened Nov. 10)		
Nov. 22, 1969	San Diego, Calif.	Gloria Shields Karee Bridges Willie Ward Dextmond Miller O'Neal Ackles Vernon Gomez Gwen Randolph	Office raided all persons present arrested Re above, poss. sawed off shotgun Same Same Same Same Same		Released on OR Same Same Same Held on traffic warrants Released on OR Same
Dec. 1969	Oakland, Calif.	David Hilliard	Charged (Fed. indictment) threat-ening life of president		
Dec. 1969	W. Germany	Big Man	Refused entry into W. Germany		



"We will
kill
anyone
who stands
in the way
of our
freedom."

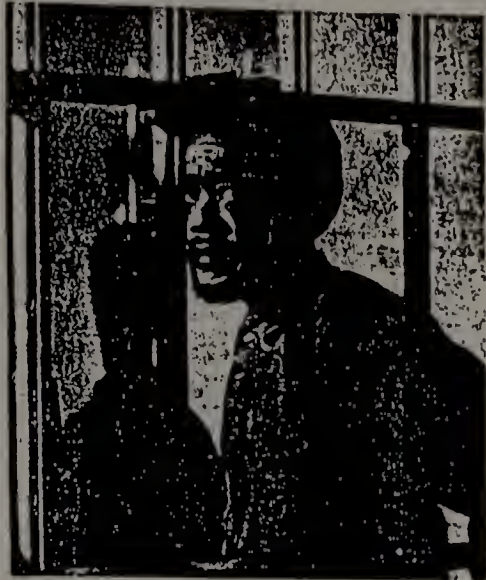
DAVID HILLIARD CHIEF OF STAFF B.P.P.



DEP. MINISTER OF INFORMATION
SURROUNDED BY W. GERMAN PIGS

Dec. 2 1969	Bronx, N.Y.	Nat Shanks	Followed by police officer while asking merchants for donations to breakfast program; merchants told by officer not to donate		
Dec. 1969	Queens, N.Y.		Approx. 10 cases pending in Queens, offenses stem from sell-ing Panther papers		All bailed out, cases pending
Dec. 1969	Manhattan, N.Y.		Seven new arrests for selling papers		

Date	City & State	Name	Charge or Act	Bail	Disposition - Status
Oct. 1969	Chicago, Illinois	Bobby Seale	Brutally beaten, chained and gagged by Federal marshalls by order of Judge Julius Hoffman inside courtroom for demanding his constitutional rights		four years contempt of court



BOBBY SEALE CHAIRMAN B.P.P. POLITICAL PRISONER



SHACKLED LIKE A SLAVE

Dec. 1, 1969	Chicago, Illinois	Attack on home	Killed Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, others wounded, others arrested
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SMILING PIGS CARRY FRED'S BODY



DOOR OF CHICAGO OFFICE AFTER ATTACK



PIGS RANSACKED THE WHOLE OFFICE.



U.S. TACTICS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY

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